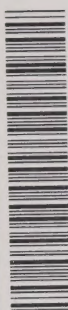


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UKRAINIAN CONTRIBUTION  
TO  
CANADA'S CULTURAL LIFE

Ol'ha Woycenko

October, 1965.  
Winnipeg, Man.






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## PREFACE

The purpose of this essay is to present Ukrainian Canadians' contribution to the cultural pattern of Canada along the lines set in the Terms of Reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

In discussing the character of the essay during the Seminar in Ottawa July 9-10, two aspects of it were specified:

Firstly, the group's contribution to the mainstream of Canadian cultural life, and secondly, to the culture of the group itself. Another aspect which was discussed at that time was the group's aspirations in the all-Canadian context.

While adhering in principle to the above points in her work, the present writer emphasized some aspects of Ukrainian cultural life more than the others. It refers especially to the religious and educational endeavours of the Ukrainian group in Canada. Perhaps this would have not been necessary, if the group were confessionally homogeneous. As to the educational endeavours of Ukrainians in Canada, these are closely tied in with the problems of bilingual schools in the Prairie Provinces. Their abolition in 1916 caused some reactions which influenced for decades the educational work among Ukrainians in Canada and are still evident today. The writer also tried to present the aspirations of the group in detail having found that there is considerable diversity in this respect.





INTRODUCTION

1. Geographical and historical background

Ukrainians are a Slavic ethno-lingual group. Their homeland -- Ukraine is situated in south eastern Europe. The boundaries of this country extend to the Don River in the east, to the Caucasian Mountains and the Black Sea in the south, it borders Roumania and Czechoslovakia in the south-west, Poland in the west, Byelorussia in the north and Russia in the north-east. Kiev is the ancient capital city of Ukraine.

The land is rich in natural resources; the soil is most fertile; the climate varies regionally, but it is predominately temperate.

Ukraine's flourishing period of statehood (Kievan Rus' - 9th to 13th century) came to an abrupt end in 1240, when the Mongolians captured Kiev and brought general ruin to the country and its people. Since that time Ukraine has been partitioned and subjugated by various alien powers with the exception of two brief periods of independence: The first occurred in the latter part of the 17th and early 18th centuries (The Cossack State); the second in the years 1917-1921 (Ukrainian National Republic).

In the middle of the 19th century, when the exodus from Ukraine to the Americas began, Ukraine was divided between Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires. After a brief period of independence in the years 1917-1921 it was divided among





the Soviet Union, Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia. This partition lasted until the outbreak of World War 11, after which nearly all the ethnographical and historical lands of Ukraine were united in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Characteristics of the people

Due to this historical evolution sociological processes occurred in Ukraine which for centuries moulded the character of the people. Originally the Ukrainians were a highly differentiated feudal society, however, after the assimilation of most of its aristocracy by Poland and Russia, it was the peasant mass which remained glebae adstricti, and at the same time main sustainers of Ukrainian national traditions.

The predominant peasant element eventually absorbed what was left of the socially and economically depressed nobility (Chodaczkowa Shlachta). These people, reduced to peasantry, depended on the land for their subsistence. This close association with the soil and natural elements has definitely left its mark on the spirit of the people:

"An extraordinarily strong and organic dependence of man on the soil that he cultivates and that nourishes him is everywhere clearly reflected in language and literature, in habits and customs, in manifestations of religious life, in the cultural process in music, art and philosophy." 2

This is also quite evident in the people's sensitivity to the beauties of nature, expressed so colourfully in all aspects of folk art and especially in music and poetry.

Tilling their own plots of land gave them a certain





amount of independency. This was a contributing factor in developing a strong individuality in the people;

"The Ukrainians' individualism is most evident in his attitude to the social order, to the principle of the place of the community in society. He repudiates all forms of communal life which call for strict discipline and absolute obedience, without thinking that such a repudiation may be disastrous for the security of general interests and even in the long run, for the personal advantage of the individual. His individualism as a social principle regards the individual as an end in himself, while the community is merely the sum or union of individuals and as such is only the means of guaranteeing the welfare of the individual. According to this national viewpoint, **society** - in Ukrainian "hromada" - is a voluntary union of individuals who, for the moment, are willing to work to-gether for the common aims, but who reserve the right to leave the union or even attack it with every means in their power if they find that it is threatening their personal freedom, or when personal interest is greater than the interest of the community." 3

Ukrainians have an uneven temperament, a characteristic common to other Slavs. There is a preponderance of emotion over reason. Thus they are capable of boundless enthusiasm and contrasting apathy; deep love on one side and hatred on the other.

As for their physical characteristics, they are hardy, strong and capable of great endurance. Finally, their deliberateness, optimism and humour should be mentioned as these attributes have helped them to overcome undue misfortunes and to master the severe hardships of everyday life. As such, they were an ideal element for the settlement and development of the Canadian West.

### 3. Ukrainian language

The Ukrainian language is quite separate and independent,



though like other languages, it shows many similarities with the languages spoken in the neighboring countries.<sup>4</sup> This is especially noticeable in its relation to other Slavic languages. The following languages show close ties with Ukrainian: Bulgarian, Serbian, Croation, Slovak, Polish, Byelorussian and Russian. Nevertheless, contemporary Ukrainian has many characteristics in its phonology, in the stress, formation of words, syntax and vocabulary which distinguish it from the Russian, Polish and other languages.

The Ukrainian language has many native dialects (North- and South-Ukrainians with East and West subdivisions). The majority of Ukrainians in Canada came from south-western dialectal milieux. Apart from these dialects, there exists a standard literary Ukrainian used in publications, schools, public offices, broadcasting, etc.

Ukrainian is spoken today by over 45 million people. Numerically Ukrainian speaking people are second in the Slavic language family and fifth in the whole of Europe (after the Russians, English, French and Germans).<sup>5</sup>

#### 4. Ukrainian literature

The oldest literary language in Ukraine was Old Church Slavic. Throughout the centuries it passed through a process of modification which continued to the end of the 18th century. The publication of Kotlyarevsky's Aneid in 1798 in the common language of the people initiated a new era in Ukrainian letters.





For this reason Kotlyarevsky is often regarded as the father of modern Ukrainian literature. Later such writers as Shevchenko, Kulish and Hrebinka firmly established the modern Ukrainian literary language. Writers of the late 19th and early 20th century viz. Vovchok, Lesya Ukrainka, Franko, Kotsyubynskyj and Rudanskyj contributed to the further development of Ukrainian literary language and style.<sup>6</sup>

#### 5. Other cultural domains

For a culture to thrive and flourish in any country, the prerequisite is peace, stability and general well-being. The periods of subjugation which occurred in Ukraine were not conducive to a flourishing cultural life. Nevertheless, Ukrainians have contributed to the various branches of cultural life in the Old Country. We will mention here only a few of those who have excelled in the various fields of art and scholarship:

Education: P. Mohyla, Huca-Venelin, I. Gizel.

Visual arts: Levyckyj, Borowykowskyj, Shevchenko.

Architecture: Krychevskyj, Timoshenko.

Sculpture: Mykyshyh, Kamensky, Archipenko.

Graphic art: Boychuk, Narbut, Krychevskyj.

Music: Bortnianskyj, Lysenko, Koshetz.

Theatre: Sadowskyj, Zankoveska, Hirnyak.

Science: Puluj, Horbaczewskyj, Granovskyj.

While the development or decline of the arts in Ukraine depended to a great extent on the political and economic fluc-





tuations, in contrast, the peasants continued to develop their folk culture throughout the centuries. Consequently Ukrainian folk culture evolved in a truly genuine manner and is rich in many aspects, viz.: Material (handicrafts); Social (folk songs, dances); Spiritual (oral traditions). Being an integral part of the masses, it is no wonder that the folk culture in all its aspects was transplanted to Canada<sup>7</sup> by Ukrainian immigrants. The impact of this folk culture has left a lasting impression in Canada, thus even today, whenever reference is made to Ukrainians in the press or in speeches they are more than likely associated with their folk songs, dances, handicrafts, etc.

## 6. Religion

In the sphere of religion, the Ukrainians are predominately Orthodox, the minority being Byzantine Catholics (Uniats); only a fractional number of Ukrainians have been attracted to the other denominations.

The first Ukrainian settlers in Canada were principally from Western Ukraine which is Catholic. For various reasons (which are dealt with later in this work), a dissident group broke away from the Catholic Church and in 1918 organized the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. Thus in Canada today there are two major Ukrainian Churches - Catholic and Orthodox. A smaller percentage of Ukrainians in Canada belong to other denominations.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 Based on: Allen, W. E. D. The Ukraine; Doroshenko, D. History of the Ukraine; Hrushevsky, M. A History of Ukraine. (For full bibliographical details see Bibliography).

2 Mirchuk, I. Ukraine and its people. Munich, Ukrainian Free University Press, 1949. p. 35 -36.

3 Ibid. p. 40

4 In 1906 the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg officially recognized Ukrainian as a separate language, different from Russian.

5 Luckyj, George and J. B. Rudnyckyj. A modern Ukrainian grammar. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1958. 186 p.

6 Ibid.

7 The impact of this folk culture in Canada is so predominant that many fellow-Canadians who are not familiar with the historical and cultural background of Ukrainians, believe that culturally this is all they have to offer.





## CHAPTER 11

### 1. Causes of emigration from Ukraine

To present in detail the various causes which led to the mass exodus of Ukrainians to Canada would be extremely interesting, but it cannot be attempted in the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the following factors could be considered as the major ones:

(a) Economic conditions: Shortage of land, especially in Western Ukraine, was one of the major causes for the impoverished status of the people. Although they tilled the soil for centuries, the peasants' own holdings were very limited due to the feudal system of land ownership. With no opportunity for expansion nor even hope of improving their conditions, this led, firstly to migration to neighboring countries (Prussia) for seasonal employment, then to permanent or semi-permanent emigration to the Americas.

(b) Political causes: Ukraine deprived of its independence could not offer its people opportunities for a free and democratic way of life with participation in the affairs of the state. Lack of self-government was a serious impediment to the development of a full political life of its people.

(c) Social causes: Degraded mainly to a rural population of only two classes - peasants and rural intelligentsia with almost no social stratification, the Ukrainian society, especially in Austro-Hungary, was restricted to the lowest strata only, often referred to as "chlop and pop" - peasant and priest.





(d) Educational: There was a lack of educational opportunities. Schooling was restricted to rural elementary instruction, rarely reaching high-school level. Thus there was little opportunity for a higher education, except in the field of theology. Due to the aforementioned economic and social conditions a University education was almost impossible to acquire.<sup>8</sup>

(e) Personal: There were, of course, diverse personal reasons for leaving the homeland. One was the compulsory military service for every healthy man of age. Serving the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in this capacity with no opportunity of reaching the higher ranks was not an encouraging prospect for eligible men. It was considered as a fruitless period in the life of able-bodied youth.

In short: poverty, hunger for land, lack of political freedom, lack of opportunities for education and self-advancement, social restrictions and personal problems contributed to the mass exodus overseas. The emigres hoped to attain in the New Land opportunities for a fuller life which they were deprived of in the Old Country. To them it was indeed an Eldorado - the promised land.

No doubt, all these factors had great bearing on the formation of the new pattern of life in the new land. This socio-psychological background found a congenial climate in Canada for self-expression in all its aspects.



## 2. "First" Ukrainians in Canada

The name and date of arrival of Canada's first settler from Ukraine is yet to be convincingly established.

Some researchers have come to the conclusion that the first arrivals were among the military men in Lord Selkirk's contingent - De Meuron regiment of 1817.<sup>9</sup>

Others assume that the first Ukrainian settlers arrived in 1874 with the Mennonite group from Ukraine.<sup>10</sup>

Further research has led to the discovery of marriage and baptismal records in the Point Douglas area of the City of Winnipeg. According to these records,<sup>11</sup> Ukrainians were living in Winnipeg in the early 1880's.

The most popular and wide-spread legend about the "first" Ukrainian immigrants in Canada is the belief that those "firsts" were Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw. It is a historical fact that they arrived in 1891, but there is no objective basis to call them first. Moreover, this "firstness" was definitely nullified by Eleniak himself. In an interview in 1953<sup>12</sup> he stated that shortly after his arrival in Canada, he met a Ukrainian family in Assiniboia who claimed they had settled in Canada 25 years prior to his coming. Thus the problem of establishing names and dates of the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada remains open.





### 3. Waves of mass immigration

There were three waves of emigration from Ukraine to Canada. The first one was between the years 1896 and 1914. The second in the 1920's, continuing, though somewhat restricted, into the 1930's. The third following World War II in the late 1940's and early 1950's.

#### First mass immigration

Although there was a trickle of migration from Ukraine to Canada between the middle of 1870's and early 1890's (with establishment of the first group settlement in the Edna-Star area of Alberta in 1893), it wasn't until 1896 when a continuous flow of immigration began. This was mainly due to two factors: The new immigration policy of the Wilfred Laurier Government with Clifford Sifton as spiritus movens in this expansion movement, and to the efforts of Mosef Oleskow of Lviv (Galicia), Western Ukraine.<sup>13</sup>

Dr. Josef Oleskow, an agriculturist by profession and practice, was in close contact with his people and was familiar with their needs and their problems. He was very much perturbed by the tragic consequences which befell some of his people, who, under the spell of high promises of various agencies, emigrated to Brazil and other South American countries. Thus, to avoid further tragedies of this kind (the plight of Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil was most hopeless), he decided to delve into the problems of migration more deeply. He began to study the possibilities for immigrants in various countries





across the Atlantic. After much research and study, he concentrated on Canada as a country of great potentials. Despite his theoretical knowledge in this respect, he felt he should visit Canada and personally survey the conditions. With this in mind, he contacted the Department of Interior in Ottawa, and subsequently toured Canada in August and September, 1895.

Dr. Oleskow's visit to Canada; his correspondence and personal contacts with such high ranking officials of the time as Charles Tupper, T. M. Daly, Clifford Sifton, strengthened his faith in Canada's potential. He believed more than ever before that his people should settle in this country. He was convinced that on the one hand, Canada needed settlers of his people's calibre, and on the other, Canada had much to offer for their material and spiritual growth.

After his return from Canada to Lviv, Dr. Oleskow wrote and published a brochure entitled O Emigratsii ("About Emigration") which made a strong impact on the people and influenced thousands of Ukrainian peasants to settle in Canada. As a result he was flooded with inquiries about Canada and with requests for aid to emigrate. This led him to organize groups of emigres for settlement in Canada.

Dr. Oleskow's first group of emigrants arrived in Quebec City on the S. S. Christiana on May 1, 1896. On board were a total of 107 "souls" - men, women and children. Thus the arrival of this group and not that of Eleniak and Pylypiw in 1891 initiated the continuous flow of emigration from Ukraine to Canada which lasted right up to the outbreak of World War 1 in 1914. Most of the immigrants in this period settled on homesteads in Western Canada.



### Second wave of immigration

The period between the two World Wars, especially in the 1920's, brought a new influx of Ukrainian immigrants.

Although the reasons for emigrating to Canada were basically the same as those of the first settlers (economic and political oppression), these newcomers were somewhat in a better position than their forerunners. All of them had some form of schooling, including high-school or more advanced education. Due to the war and technological progress, they were richer in experience, thus more skillful and knowledgeable. Many of them were former combatants of Ukrainian armies. The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian State (1917-1921) developed in them a deep national consciousness. They were versed in the historical past of their country and ancestry, consequently when they arrived in Canada there was no confusion as to their identity as was the case with the earlier immigrants. They were more inclined to be urbanized, thus only a small percentage of this group settled permanently on farms. Many regarded agricultural work as a temporary occupation for the transitional period until jobs in cities would be available. Others, as soon as some capital was raised, opened their own business establishments.

Indeed, the position of this wave of immigrants was more advantageous because their kinsmen or fellow-Ukrainians were already in Canada and they did not have to face the "unknown" and build their lives from scratch. The first immigrants had already taken root and were more or less established, not only





individually but as a group. Thus the newcomers joined not only the first immigrant settlers, but new generations of Canadian born Ukrainians. Moreover, in the organizational aspect, churches, schools, secular organizations as well as the Ukrainian press, though differentiated, were already established. A definite pattern of their group life in Canada had already taken shape. Some of the newcomers accepted the established forms of community life which they encountered here and joined one or the other sectors of it. Quite a large number, however, were not satisfied with the already established "old forms" of organizational life and began to create new ones. They considered the older settlers and the Canadian born ones too Canadianized. Highly nationalistic and partisan in outlook, as far as their native land was concerned, with strong attachments to their old country national organizations, the newcomers began forming branches of these parent bodies and began publishing their periodicals. It was only natural that antagonism, friction and rivalry would develop between the old settlers and the new ones. This animosity within the group was particularly strong in the 1930's and continued until 1940 when, on the suggestion of the Federal Department of National War Services and with the aid of several prominent non-Ukrainian individuals, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee came into being.



### Third wave of immigration

The third mass movement of Ukrainian emigrants to Canada was due to events caused by World War II. The immigrants in this group who arrived in the late 1940's and early 1950's were victims of war; They were already uprooted and came to Canada as displaced persons or refugees from various countries in Europe, mostly Germany. Most of these people were already experienced in diasporal life. Many of them were well educated and were skilled craftsmen, technicians and professionals. A number of intellectuals arrived with this wave of immigration as well.

The Ukrainian Canadians welcomed the new arrivals into the community. It was generally hoped that they would integrate into the already existing forms of Ukrainian social structure, established by settlers of both previous tides of immigrants as well as by the Canadian born generations. Their anticipation in this regard was only partially fulfilled because only a fraction of this group found its place in the established organizations. A parallel situation, similar to the one which arose with the arrival of the second immigration, developed. New organizations were created and new newspapers and periodicals appeared. Nevertheless, though some antagonism occurred, it wasn't as strong as the one in 1930's. Gradually some integration took place and one of the largest and most vocal sectors of this group of newcomers eventually joined the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.





On the positive side, however, a new venture in the organizational structure of Ukrainian life in Canada, which came into being with the third immigration, should be mentioned. This was the organization of the scholarly sector of community life. Not involved in ideological and religious antagonisms, the intellectual elite formed research institutions and learned societies. Later they became co-ordinated in a body known as Ukrainian Canadian Council of Learned Societies. Thus in addition to the church and secular organizations, the formation of scholarly institutions filled a very important need. It could be said that with this last formation <sup>the</sup> globality <sup>of</sup> of the organizational life of the Ukrainian community was achieved.

#### 4. Statistical and demographic aspects of immigration

The number of Ukrainians who arrived in the first wave of immigration will never be known. They came to Canada under various names such as "Galicians," "Bukovinians," "Ruthenians," "Austrians," etc., even as "Poles," and "Russians," depending on country, region or province they emigrated from. It was not until after World War 1 that the term "Ukrainian" began to be generally accepted and used. This confusion in identification was partly due to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics classification and tabulation system of that time, and partly due to the immigrants themselves. Many of them were illiterate, and after centuries of domination by various powers, they were not nationally conscious. Nevertheless, they did have a strong feeling of ethnic identity as a group (common language, customs



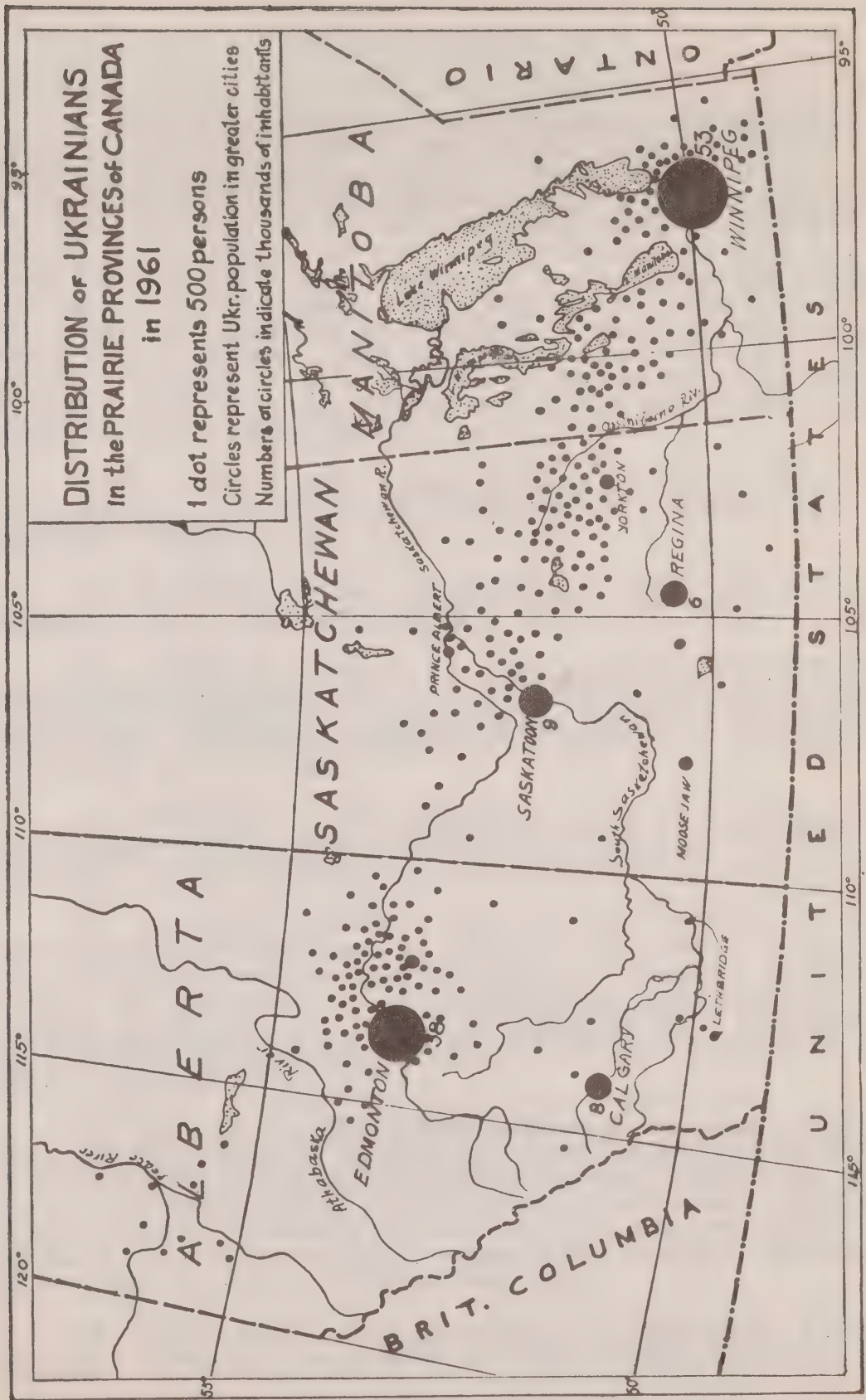
etc.), but did not properly designate themselves by one and the same name.

Paradoxical as it may seem is the fact that, as time went by, Ukrainians in Canada not only became Canadianized, but through self-advancement and education became more aware of their historical and ancestral background. Most of the Ukrainians in Canada today designate their origin correctly. This was proven by the 1961 DBS census, when 474,000 Canadians claimed to be of Ukrainian origin.

Worthy of note is the fact that despite the mobility of Canadians in general, especially during and since World War II, the main settlements of Ukrainians are still centred in the Prairie Provinces - Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The map on the following page illustrates their distribution in cities and villages.









NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

8 A mass movement for "enlightenment" and general education was initiated in 1868 by the formation of a cultural-educational organization "Prosvita" in Lviv. A net of branches of this group spread throughout the villages and towns of Western Ukraine. Although restricted in its activities to folk art and folklore, the seed of knowledge and self-improvement was implanted in the minds and hearts of the masses. This organization had a great influence on succeeding generations, broadening their intellectual horizons. Many Ukrainian organizations in Canada, in their program of activities, followed this parent body, even attaching the name "Prosvita" (which means "enlightenment") to their community halls.

9 Cf. Yuzyk, Paul. Slavica Canadiana A. D. 1954. Slavistica No. 24, Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1955, p. 26.

10 Woycenko, Ol'ha. The Annals of Ukrainian life in Canada. Vol. 1. Winnipeg, Trident Press Ltd., 1961. p. 4.

11 Marunchak, Michael H. Studies in the history of Ukrainians in Canada, Vol. 1: The Selkrik settlers and the Ukrainian community in Point Douglas. Ukrainica Occidentalia. Vol. X (8). Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1964-1965. p. 57 - 58.

12 Rudnyckyj, J. B. Ukrainian-Canadian folklore. Texts in English translation. Ukrainica Occidentalia. Vol. VII (5). Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1960. p. 225.

13 Dr. Josef Oleskow's farseeing and influential role in encouraging Ukrainians to emigrate to Canada rather than to other countries has only recently been brought to full light. cf. Kaye, V. J. Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900. Dr. Josef Oleskow's role in the settlement of the Canadian North-West. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1964. 472 p.

14 Most of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada were from the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina as well as from Trans-Carpathian regions (Western Ukraine). There was a relatively small number of Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine (under Russia) because they did not have the freedom of movement. Those desiring to migrate were usually directed by the authorities to Siberia instead.

15 Yuzyk, Paul. The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. Toronto, University of Tronto Press, 1953. p. 191.





CHAPTER 111

1. The Ukrainian Canadian cultural pattern

In studying the life of Ukrainians in Canada from the early settlement days, one come to the conclusion that there was a strong will within this group to preserve their ethnic identity.<sup>16</sup> This is quite evident in their endeavours to maintain their religious traditions, language and customs through such media as the family, church, vernacular schools, secular organizations, the press, publications, etc.

On the one hand, they were determined to better themselves and to succeed in their adopted country. To reach this goal, they, quite soon after their arrival, became involved in problems pertaining to schools and education as well as in other matters affecting their general well-being and advancement (participation in municipal and provincial affairs, politics,<sup>17</sup> etc.) On the other hand, they were very cautious and conservative in matters concerning their own cultural heritage; they did not want to lose this spiritual heritage and become a "soulless nonentity."

This will for spiritual survival was often misunderstood by their fellow-Canadians, especially English-Canadians. At times it was interpreted by them as a manifestation of a strong "nationalism" in the political sense. Such kind of "nationalism," however, did creep in but much later, and only in certain factions of the group. Indeed, it appeared in the second wave of



immigration, as many in this group were not only witnesses but participants of events in the homeland brought on by World War I with its post-war implications (rise and fall of the Ukrainian National Republic, etc.)<sup>18</sup> But the early Ukrainian immigrants who laid the foundations for the religious and cultural life in Canada were not stimulated by this kind of "nationalism." One should bear in mind that the majority of the immigrants in the first wave was not even national conscious; thus the chaos which took place as to their identification when they entered the country. Nevertheless, these so-called "Ruthenians," "Galicians," "Austrians," "Bukovinians," or whatever-else they were registered as, were bound together linguistically and spiritually. And this common cultural heritage was a very important, though perhaps sub-conscious part of their psyche which they did not intend to shed, but on the contrary they wanted to keep and perpetuate in Canada.

In other words, they put into practice what, a half century later, Lord Tweedsmuir had in mind when he said:

"I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions towards our Canadian culture which cannot be a copy of any old thing - it must be a new thing created by the contributions of all the elements that make up the nation." <sup>19</sup>

The facilitation of these cultural traditions took place through such channels as:

(a) Family life: They maintained the mother tongue within the family circle; retained age-old customs and rituals in





in observing feast and Holy Days; they continued to develop all forms of craft which were popular in the Old Country; They continued their food habits and practised their own culinary traditions.

(b) Religious traditions: Traditional Ukrainian churches (Catholic and Orthodox) were established in Canada.

(c) Education: They showed a keen interest in education, not only in the Canadian schools, but in the teaching of Ukrainian subjects; this was evident in their exhausting efforts to maintain the bilingual School System, especially in Manitoba. When this system was abolished, they were compelled to organize their student institutes - "bursas", vernacular and parochial schools where the teaching of Ukrainian language, literature, etc., would be assured.

(d) Community centres: "Narodni Domy" - officially known as Ukrainian National Homes, Literary Societies, "Prosvitas", were not only centres for social and recreational activities, they were established for the purpose of perpetuating Ukrainian folk culture. Thus choirs, dramatic groups, dancing ensembles were very important activities in these centres. Each of these "national homes" made an effort to assemble a library consisting of books, periodicals and newspapers in the Ukrainian language, published here and abroad. It could be said that in their time, these libraries played a role, similar to the local public libraries of today.

(e) Ukrainian press and publications: the role of the Ukrainian language newspapers in Canada is a fascinating study in itself which could not be attempted here. I



"Since 1903, when "The Canadian Farmer" made its first appearance, about one hundred and thirty-five papers have been published at one time or another. Many were short-lived disappearing after two or three months, others lasted several years, and a few hardy ones were able to weather<sup>20</sup> early financial difficulties and become well established."

In this latter category the following could be mentioned:

"Canadian Ranok" (since 1906), "Ukrainian Voice" (since 1910), "Ukrainian News" (since 1929), "Herald" (since 1924). In 1960 over a hundred newspapers, periodicals and journals<sup>21</sup> were being published in Canada.

These newspapers in addition to being instruments for dissemination of news served as a liaison between the Old World and the New; they were interpreters of a new way of life - laws and customs so perplexing to the new settlers. The press played a vital role in keeping the language alive in Canada. The newspapers and the annual almanacs published by a number of them were an important outlet for aspiring Ukrainian writers in Canada. It was mostly through the columns of these publications that young writers had an opportunity to publish their first works - poetry or prose.

All these factors were important agencies in sustaining the people's cultural heritage in the new land.

## 2. Direct and indirect contribution

The question may arise here: what have all these cultural efforts of the group contributed to Canada as a whole?





When an ethnic group migrates, does the transplanting of its own cultural attributes contribute to the enrichment of its new country of adoption?

Does it become an integral part of the cultural life of that country?

One of the objectives of this essay is to show, on the one hand, the cultural contribution Ukrainians have made to the mainstream of Canada's cultural life, and on the other, what did they contribute to the cultural growth of the group itself.

Taking into consideration the historical process of the group's development in various spheres of life in this country, one comes to the conclusion that its contribution to Canada was twofold - direct and indirect.

The direct contribution began almost immediately after the settlers' arrival here. It did not differ greatly from that of the other settlers who established themselves on homesteads or who began to labor in other fields of occupation. The newcomers came here primarily to better, among other things, their material position. When they began their laborious task on the homesteads, railroads, construction jobs, etc., they were not only improving their own economic position, but were contributing directly to the material development of Canada. This direct contribution has been recognized, for are not the pioneers acclaimed as the builders of Canada? or builders of Canada's West?

The indirect contribution to Canada's cultural development however, went unheeded for decades. It is only now, with the perspective of time, that this contribution is gradually being



recognized. When the immigrants from Europe were pouring in by the thousands towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century to settle western Canada's wilderness, there were hardly any physical facilities to meet their needs, and culturally it was a vast emptiness. And though, out of sheer necessity for survival, physical necessities were satisfied first, spiritual needs were no less important for a balanced and stable life as "man doth not live by bread only." To nourish this need, the people continued, as best they could, under the circumstances, to adhere to their own, specific age-old customs and traditions, firstly as individuals within the family circle, later as a group in their church and secular organizations. The ethnic traditional churches, organizations, press and schools, created in the milieu of the various ethnic groups to satisfy their own specific needs were at the same time filling a vacuum - a cultural void which was Canada, especially western Canada. Thus they contributed indirectly <sup>22</sup> to the cultural development of the country.

Some English-Canadian leaders of various religious denominations, observing the early settlers' way of life, were alarmed. Believing in rapid assimilation of newcomers, they feared that this tendency to adhere to their cultural background will retard their progress, and so prevent them from integrating into the general stream of Canadian life; they seemed to think that they will never become Canadianized. They worried about these people's pattern of settlement which was usually en bloc and suggested to have them dispersed:





"Language, nationality, race, temperament, training, are all dividing walls that must be broken down. Proper distribution may do much. There is a very natural tendency for people of the same nationality to settle in large colonies...Not only are they less open to Canadian ideas, but, closely united, they can control the entire community. The social, the educational, the religious, the political life is dominated by alien ideas. It would seem a wise policy to scatter the foreign communities among the Canadians in this way facilitating the process of assimilation." 23

Time has proven that these people's fears were not justified. With the exception of the extreme religious sects (e. g. Doukhobors a. o.) the newcomers became Canadianized. Their own cultural habits were a help rather than a deterrent in this process of integration. It was only natural that in the new environment, modification of these customs took place and gradually some of them became part of the Canadian way of life. This again may be regarded as their indirect contribution.

The direct and indirect contributions are so interwoven that it is actually not at all important to differentiate one from the other. The fact remains that this process has contributed to Canada's diversified way of life. The Ukrainians in Canada have contributed their share to this diversification.

### 3. Opening and cultivation of prairies

As has already been established, most of the first settlers from Ukraine, who arrived prior to World War 1, settled on undeveloped land in the three Prairie Provinces. They began to clear and work the land which had never before been touched by human hands. With their primitive tools (many settlers



brought their own implements from the Old Country), they cleared patch by patch, acre by acre; they seeded and planted. Thus began the cultivation of Canada's virgin lands - the future granaries of the world. The rich grain fields of today - backbone of Canada's economy, owe their productiveness to these people as well as to people of various other racial origins who in "the sweat of their brow" broke and cultivated them.

A lesser known Ukrainian contribution in the fields of horticulture and agriculture is the fact that certain species and varieties of flora (decorative-ornamental as well as edible-fruit, cereal and vegetable), quite common in Canada now, were introduced and cultivated by these settlers. They brought seeds from their native land and painstakingly fostered their growth and reproduction.

After the initial stage of hardship, the Ukrainian farmers in Canada began to prosper. They not only provided a comfortable living for their families, but some of them became extremely prosperous, especially in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Their success is attributed to a number of factors, but mostly to their diligence and to the adoption of progressive methods of husbandry. In this respect, credit is due to a number of Canada's pioneer graduate-agriculturists of Ukrainian origin, who were instrumental in getting the pioneer-farmers to adopt technologically more advanced methods in the operation of their farms. Working for the Government Departments of





Agriculture, these professional agriculturists were counselors to all the farmers in the area they serviced, however, by knowing the language of the Ukrainian farmers, they were in the advantageous position whereby they could communicate with the farmers in their mother tongue.

The role of pioneer agriculturists in progressive farming was immense. The following examples illustrate this role:

C. S. Prodan is a pioneer Ukrainian agriculturist. He graduated from the Manitoba Agriculture College in 1921, being the first Ukrainian graduate in this field in Canada. A former public school teacher <sup>25</sup> he was very much interested in agriculture. Teaching in rural schools and being in close contact with the farmers, he was well acquainted with their difficulties and problems. He realized that many of the pioneer farmers used outmoded methods and if they were to progress, they needed professional guidance. He decided to do something about it. He quit teaching and entered Manitoba Agriculture College, eventually completing his course successfully. After graduation he worked for the Department of Agriculture in the province of Manitoba until his retirement.

Besides his work, in the usual course of duties, he wrote numerous articles for Ukrainian newspapers and almanacs on agricultural topics. C. S. Prodan's contribution to the advancement of farming in Canada is outstanding. Even today, at an advanced age and in official retirement, he continues to write on topics in his sphere of interests and is still sought after by farmers for advice on some particular problems.



Another outstanding pioneer in this field of service is Theo. Bodnar. He began his work with the Federal Government in 1921 (being the first Ukrainian to enter the Civil Service in Canada) as the representative of the Livestock Branch, Department of Agriculture. He worked in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Besides lecturing, he too wrote numerous articles for the various Ukrainian newspapers and almanacs thus reaching farmers right across Canada. He continued this work until his retirement in 1951.

In the late 20's other graduates emerged. John Negrich (has been working for many years in the Emerson-Vita, Manitoba district), Ivan Maduke (Saskatchewan), W. Pidruchney and M. Syrotiuk (Alberta) and many others since, following the footsteps of the first two pioneers in this field.

#### Progress and prosperity

Progress and prosperity of Ukrainian farmers achieved by the common efforts of farmers and professional agriculturists is illustrated further by the following: In the fall of 1929, Rev. S. W. Sawchuk toured the farming areas of Alberta and was quite impressed with their husbandry. He wrote his impressions in an extensive article which was published in the "Ukrainian Voice," # 47, 1929:

"Vasyl' Salamandyk lives 9 miles north of Vegreville. His land is well cultivated and is painstakingly looked after. Livestock - cows and sheep - are of a good breed. Buildings are in good condition and are conveniently situated. The house is modern brick surrounded on three sides by trees. The green lawn in front of the house extends to the highway. The gravel driveway, leading from the highway to the house is bordered on each side by





flowers. Not far from the house is the orchard: plums (several varieties), apples (several varieties), cherries, pears; and berries, raspberries (two kinds), currants (black, red and white). Beehives in the orchard - the honey is mostly for their own consumption.

"I was more than surprised to see Mr. Salakhadyk's <sup>man</sup> farmstead. But I was no less surprised when I saw his home library. Glancing over it only casually, I noticed books and periodicals on farming (in English), and Encyclopaedia in English; annuals of "Literaturno-Naukovyj Visnyk," latest works by Lepkyj, works by Kulish, poetry of Lesya Ukrainka, Czykalenko's Memoirs, "Kobzar", Holy Bible, etc., It came to my mind: it could not be a coincidence that a model farmer would also have such a selective library. Rather it must be that this model husbandry owes its success to the library - that is to education which the books provide."

The author concludes the article by commending W. Pid-ruchny, who, as a field worker with the Department of Agriculture, guides and advises the farmers in the area. No doubt much credit is due him for their progress. He also paid tribute to Hanka Romanchych, who catered to women's interests, lecturing and instructing on such matters as hygiene, home economics, handicrafts, etc.

The results of the progressive farming methods reached a new high when several Ukrainian farmers won top prizes for their wheat and other grains:

Vasyl' Skladan, Andrew, Alberta, won first prize for Oats at the World's Exhibit at Chicago in 1930, thus becoming the World's Champion. E. Kovalsky of Fernview, Sask., received first prize for Alfalfa. The following year, Paul Pavlovskyj, Vilna, Alberta, took the world's champion prize for oats, and Elias Lastivka of Andrew, Alberta, captured the prize for barley. In 1941 V. Skladan re-captured the title of "World oats king", and Pavlovskyj and Menzak both won championships for barley.



It should be mentioned here, that in 1941 Alberta farmers won 54 top prizes for their grain and cereals in the Chicago Fair; of these, 29 (more than half) were farmers of Ukrainian origin.<sup>27</sup>

Achievements in the field of agriculture were topped by scientists and scholars. A few may be mentioned here:

The late Dr. T. K. Pavlychenk of the University of Saskatchewan was a world-renowned ecologist.

Dr. W. J. Cherewick, phytopathologist, is currently with the Research branch of the Federal Department of Agriculture. In 1953 Dr. Cherewick was sent to Malaya by the Government of Canada to establish, under the Colombo Plan, plant pathological services. He served in this capacity for 13 months. He has about 50 scientific papers published in his area of research.

Dr. Isidore Hlynka is head of the basic wheat research unit of the Board of Grain Commissioners. He has to his credit over a hundred papers published in problems of research-cereal chemistry.

Dr. P. A. Kondra is with the Department of Animal Science, University of Manitoba. His sphere is teaching, research and public service, specializing in genetics. In 1964, under the auspices of the National Research Council of Canada, he toured the Soviet Union as participant in the exchange program between the Council and Soviet Academy of Sciences.

There are numerous scientists of the younger generation e. g. Dr. William Hanec, entomologist, Dr. Zvarich, Soil Scientist, both of the University of Manitoba.





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It is a well known fact that farming in Canada has developed in all its branches. Farming today is "big business." Unusual progress and expansion has taken place in the past three or four decades in Western Canada. The foregoing review shows that the Ukrainian agriculturists and farmers have contributed substantially to this development. Looking back to the meagre beginnings of the immigrant homesteader and comparing it with the present-day operator of vast area of grain fields, or the cattle rancher, dairy farmer, or even the mixed farmer, we note that it was a steady upward climb, reaching right to the laboratory of the scientist or to the higher echelons of professorship at the universities.

One cannot help but reflect further. Just as Dr. Oleskow had visualized, Canada is indeed a country of great opportunities for anyone who is willing to toil and who is determined to succeed in his chosen vocation. The largest percentage of Ukrainian immigrants chose farming when they arrived in Canada. The going was extremely hard the first two or three decades, but they persevered. There were times when the men-folk would leave the homesteads and their families for months at a time to labor at other jobs, thereby subsidizing their meagre farm income, but in spite of many vicissitudes they clung to the land, they would not give it up. Gradually they prospered, and today they or their children are reaping the fruits of this labor. They have not only improved their own position, they have contributed to the general prosperity of Canada as a whole.



#### 4. Impact of folk-culture on the Canadian way of life

As the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada was composed chiefly of peasants, it was only natural that their peasant culture left the strongest impact on all aspects of their life in this country. It manifested itself in handicrafts, oral traditions, dances, food habits, social customs. In fact, the influence of folk-culture in Canada has been so strong that even today it is evidenced in the personal and organizational life of the third and fourth generation born in Canada. This impact and the misunderstanding or even ignorance of the Ukrainian historical cultural background in its broadest scope, has left an impression that folk-culture is the only heritage of these people. Nevertheless, due to its strong impact, much of which has integrated and become part of the Canadian way of life, it would be extremely interesting to do more research and study in this field. The problems of transplantation, period of decline and degeneration, process of revival and creative adaptation to the new environment, all are interesting phases which could be only touched upon in this work.

##### Handicrafts

Many of the Ukrainian settlers were skilled craftsmen who brought with them a great variety of handiwork, and most important, the necessary skills. As meagre as their material possessions were, the baggage of most of them consisted of bolts of handwoven linen cloths, handwoven kylyms (rugs) and





mats, hand embroidered shirts and blouses, and other articles which made-up their native household accessories and Ukrainian-type dress. This apparel was worn for many years after their arrival here, especially by the women folk in the rural areas until they adopted or could afford the Western style of dress.

There was a strong will among the settlers, not only to preserve the handicrafts as prized tokens of their former homeland, but to continue to develop the age-old crafts in the new environment. The pursuit for the necessities of life, however, in those extremely difficult pioneer times was so demanding and time-consuming that to indulge in the art of crafts was considered to be a luxury. Only the odd individual carried on - a wood carver, an embroiderer, a weaver or a ceramist. For awhile it was feared that the folk-craft would entirely disappear in Canada<sup>28</sup> or degenerate to an undesirable hybrid variety, losing much of its original harmony of colour and form.

The need for craft-work was first felt when the settlers erected church buildings in their traditional designs. They wanted to equip the interiors of these churches with accessories (functional and decorative) to which they were accustomed in the village churches of their native land. For awhile this need was adequately met with the articles they had brought from Ukraine, but soon the supply was exhausted. Thus men folk turned to woodworking and carving, and the women began to embroider linen cloths, runners, banners, etc. for the church interiors.

It was not long before another need had to be met. In



most Ukrainian communities amateur theatrical groups were established. Plays on old-country themes were predominant in the repertoire of these drama groups, thus native Ukrainian costumes and related accessories were a necessity in order to enact the roles realistically and give the performance the proper local colour. Gradually these groups acquired their own wardrobes, mainly national dress that was brought here by the settlers. As the demand grew, however, volunteers undertook the task of making-up additional garments, to ensure that the amateur groups across the country possessed their own wardrobes. Eventually these wardrobes became a conglomeration of costumes and accessories. Some of the costumes, especially those that were brought here from Ukraine, were of high aesthetic value as to craftsmanship and of authentic style. But some of the costumes were just a cheap imitation, made-up in a hurry to meet a deadline for an oncoming performance. Colours would be overemphasized for a flashy stage effect, as a result, at some of the performances or concerts, one would see this conglomeration of costumes on stage - the authentic with its beauty of style and harmony of colour, and the imitation - gaudy and flashy. The whole effect would be just a splash of colour and not much else.

It was obvious to students of genuine folkcraft that the art in Canada was beginning to deteriorate. Moreover, it was degrading into an unaesthetical hybrid variety. The time had come to rectify this situation. In this respect,





great credit is due to the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, a national organization which came into being in 1926.<sup>29</sup> Leading women of this group contributed articles on this subject which were then published in Ukrainian newspapers; brochures were printed with instructions in regard to authentic design and colour and were made available to anyone interested in developing the craft. There were still a large number of skilled pioneers who were willing to offer personal instruction in the various communities. To facilitate further the work in this field, the organization started to collect all available authentic handiwork brought in by the settlers, not only to preserve them for posterity, but as original examples, as it was feared that these would eventually disappear too. Today this organization has the largest collection of Ukrainian native costumes and other handwork on this Continent.<sup>30</sup> Also, due to the efforts in this sphere, when Ukrainian Choral groups appear today on stage in Ukrainian costumes, their genuine types as to traditional design, style and colour are to be seen.

#### Adaptation and modification

Although revival in the crafts arose out of necessity to fill the above mentioned needs, nonetheless it went through a process of development, finally reaching a stage of modern adaptability and usage. This evolution is quite apparent in Ukrainian handicraft exhibits or fashion shows. Interest in the crafts has extended to the fourth generation of Canadians



of Ukrainian descent who are now mastering the crafts; some of them turn out flawless pieces of embroidery and weaving which are not only unique additions to the modern decor of contemporary homes, but they also incorporate them into certain types of wearing apparel, especially women's and children's costumes and accessories. To encourage further interest in this field, fashion shows are annual events in the larger centres with awards for quality workmanship and design.<sup>31</sup>

An amazing interest in other crafts has recently been noted, especially wood carving. The interest in the traditional Easter-egg painting, however, has surpassed them all. Every year, several weeks prior to Easter, young and old are busily engaged in this very old and intricate craft. It is becoming commercialized too. There is a large demand for these hand-painted eggs. Hundreds of dozens of them are shipped to retail outlets in larger metropolitan areas of Canada and the USA.

#### Oral traditions

Another branch of folk-culture which was transplanted and adapted to the new environment was folklore. The natural need for self-expression manifested itself in various ways and forms; quite common in song which expressed life's joys and sorrows, hopes and disappointments. "In beautiful songs" as F. Kolessa says, "The Ukrainian people sing of mother's care... of the youthful lovers, of the sufferings of a betrayed girl... of the wretched life of a poor widow... in fact, all





the joys and miseries which people encounter from their babyhood to their last breath are mirrored in Ukrainian folk songs." <sup>32</sup>

Aside from folk songs, Ukrainians have created other forms of folkore, such as lamentations, folklore epics, incantations, maxims and proverbs, stories, legends, etc. It is this very creative propensity that has favoured the development of Ukrainian folklore in Canada. The fact, also, that a large percentage of early settlers were illiterate or semi-literate had bearing on the development of folklore rather than of literature, especially during the first pioneering period of their life here.

Some research, compilation and publications of Ukrainian oral traditions in Canada has been done. One of the first collectors in this field was V. Plavyuk. His published work "Proverbs or Ukrainian folk philosophy" contains a treasury in folklore. Watson Kirkconnell, in evaluating this publication, wrote as follows:

"From the point of view of scholarship quite the most interesting book of the year is Volodymyr S. Plavyuk's monumental collection of Ukrainian proverbs, dedicated to the Ukrainian pioneers in Canada. Here are recorded some six thousand proverbs, methodically arranged according to an alphabetical list of subjects, and supplied in each case with an explanatory paraphrase... If this treasure of Ukrainian popular wisdom could be translated into a world-language such as English or French, it would arouse great enthusiasm among the folklorists on this continent." <sup>33</sup>

A scientific and broad approach toward Ukrainian Canadian folkore was initiated by Dr. J. B. Rudnycky, who, in 1953 and following years, travelled across Canada and collected all forms of folklore. He contacted numerous old settlers, quite



a number of them were the first pioneers of certain areas, and tape-recorded their stories, legends, songs, proverbs, etc. These were later transcribed and published in two separate editions, one in Ukrainian, the other in English translation.<sup>34</sup>

Professor Rudnyckyj inspired his student R. B. Klymash of the University of Manitoba who successfully continues not only in the collection of all forms of Ukrainian folklore, but also is investigating its forms, preparing for his Ph. D.<sup>35</sup> at the University of Indiana in Bloomington.

Choral groups, amateur theatricals, folk dancing

Choral singing as well as folk dancing are well known characteristics of Ukrainians which everyone seems to enjoy. In the first decades of this century when hundreds of Ukrainian community halls mushroomed across the country, especially in the Prairie Provinces, choral and amateur theatrical groups were the core of these institutions. In the days before radio and television, these groups provided entertainment in villages, towns and cities, thereby bringing diversion to the settlers' rather desolated lives. Technological progress brought changes to both the urban and rural ways of life and this, in turn, affected activities of these groups. Nevertheless, though not as great in number, there are excellent choral groups today and several theatrical ensembles, e. g. the U.N.F. Choir with V. Klymkiw as its conductor, and the Ukrainian Male Voice Choir with its long-standing director, W. Bohonos have not only delighted Winnipeg audiences for many years, but through the





media of radio and television have reached listeners across Canada. There are choirs, worthy of note, in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Fort William, Toronto and of course in other centres.

Ukrainian theatrical art has a lengthy and bright tradition in Canada. In this field, drama was the first to find its expression in live presentations on the stage and in published form. Changing times and trends have drastically decreased the number of these groups. There are only three or four Ukrainian theatrical groups in Canada at the present time. The Ukrainian Theatre group in Winnipeg produces plays twice a year which are held at the Playhouse Theatre. These performances are not only attended by Ukrainian Canadians, but attract all those who are interested in theatrical art. Several of the younger actors who made their debut in their own ethnic theatrical groups went further in this field. After professional training, they are today, as accomplished artists, contributing to the theatrical life in Canada. Some of them should be mentioned, e. g. Cecil Symchyshyn, Orest Ulan (CBC Radio and TV), Lesya Ziubrak, "Juliette" Sysak, Ivan Romanoff. Joan Karasievich recently graduated from the National Theatre School in Montreal. She has appeared with the Manitoba Theatre Centre and Rainbow Stage. In the summer of 1965 she made her Stratford debut, winning wide critical praise for her performances. She was one of the winners of the Tyrone Guthrie awards of the Stratford Festival.



### Folk dancing and ballet

Vasyl' Avramenko popularized Ukrainian folk dancing in Canada. His first school of folk-dancing in Toronto in 1927 proved so popular that branches of the school opened across Canada wherever there was a Ukrainian settlement. Changing times have affected various activities in Ukrainian organizations and institutions in Canada, but folk dancing seems to have weathered all these changes. The dances are as popular as ever and are continuously taught to the newer generations. The love for dancing has inspired the more talented ones to enter Canadian ballet schools and become professional dancers, instructors and choreographers. E. g. Nadia Pavlychenko-Buchan, received her early training in the Ukrainian folk-dancing school, later in ballet school here and abroad (she studied at the Royal Academy of Dances in London, England). Now she has her own "Art of Movement Studio" in Toronto, where among other forms of dancing, Ukrainian folk ballet is taught. A very young and promising dancer is Olenka Tkachuk of Saskatoon. She has had some success in choreography with Ukrainian motifs and is continuing her work in this direction. Halyna Samtsova of Toronto is considered to be one of the most gifted ballerinas in Canada. Vasyl' Martyn-Viscount of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet has had outstanding success as a professional dancer on this continent and abroad. He is not resting on his laurels, however, and on a Canada Council grant will be studying with outstanding ballet masters in Europe the ensuing year.





### Social customs

The social aspects of the cultural heritage of Ukrainians include colorful and symbolic customs of Holiday Festivities, such as Christmas Eve celebrations, Easter and other holy day feasts. As these are celebrated according to the Julian Calendar (which is almost two weeks later than the Gregorian) the festivities are quite unique and outstanding. They have definitely become a part of the Canadian scene, especially in the Prairie Provinces, with special Radio and TV programs to observe the occasions.

### Traditional Ukrainian cookery

The culinary aspect of the arts went through a remarkable process of evolution in Canada with the culmination in the publication of the book Traditional Ukrainian Cookery.<sup>37</sup>

The recipes were adapted to ingredients available in Canada and techniques, familiar to this country's methods of preparation and cooking were adopted. Such typical Ukrainian dishes as borsch (several varieties), varenyky (pyrohy), holubci are now served in most restaurants in the Western Provinces, or wherever there is a demand for same. A number of these typical Ukrainian foods are processed in larger quantities and are available in cans or as frozen-foods in most of the super markets across the country.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 111

16 Young, Charles H. The Ukrainian Canadians. Toronto, Thomas Nelson & Sons Limited, 1931, p. 173.

17 I. Storozuk, elected reeve in 1908 in the Municipality of Stuartburn, Man., was the first Ukrainian to be elected to a post in a municipality. T. Stefanyk, elected to the Winnipeg Council in 1911, was the first Ukrainian alderman. A. Shandro was the first Ukrainian MLA, elected in 1913 at Whitford, Alberta. M. Luchkovych, elected to the House of Commons in 1926 at Vegreville, Alberta, was the first Ukrainian Member of Parliament.

18 A great number of immigrants who arrived at this time were members of political organizations at home, the aims of which were to work and struggle for Ukraine's freedom. Arriving in Canada, they not only retained these ties, but began forming branches of these organizations in Canada. The established settlers, although nonetheless concerned with Ukraine's fate, strongly disapproved. Moreover, these newcomers were divided by several political factions which worked against each other. Consequently, this was one of the major reasons for the divergence which developed between the older settlers and newcomers. (See also above, p. 14).

19 Gibbon, John Murray. Canadian mosaic. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Ltd, 1938, p. 307.

20 The Ukrainians in Canada, Ed. Andrew Gregorovich, Toronto, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada, 1964. p. 4.

21 Cf. Ukrainica Canadiana, 1953-1964. Compiled by J. B. Rudny'kyj and D. Sokulsky. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1954-1965. Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Series Bibliography No. 1 - 12.

22 Had Canada been culturally developed at that time with outlets for the people's spiritual needs, there still would have been the perennial problem of transition and adjustment for uprooted people, especially peasant folk. Adhering to familiar patterns of life is extremely important in this period. Cf. Taft, Ronald R. Human Migration. New York, The Ronald Press, 1936.

23 Woodsworth, James S. Strangers within our gates. Toronto, The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1909, p. 279-280.

continued following page....





24 In this respect some research has been done by the renowned horticulturist and apiarist N. Pankiw, Dufroct, Man., and M. Borowskyj of Winnipeg. The latter published articles of his findings in newspapers: New Pathway, # 205, 1949; Ukrainian Voice, # 1, 1950.

25 C. S. Prodan was one of the trainees of the "Ruthenian Training School" in Manitoba. See p. 55.

26 C. S. Prodan's extensive bibliography of writings is in manuscript form, deposited in the archives of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Incorp. Winnipeg.

27 Cf. Lazarowich, P. J. in Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress. Toronto, 1946. Proceedings. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

28 Cf. Young, Charles H. The Ukrainian Canadians. Toronto, Thomas Nelson & Sons Limited, 1931, p. 168-169

29 Although the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada initiated the work in this sphere in Canada, other national women's organizations which came into being a few years later also adopted handicraft projects as an important part of their activities. Thus the Ukrainian Women's Organization and Ukrainian Catholic Women's League contributed their share in preserving and developing the crafts in Canada.

30 The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada Collection is located at the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, Saskatoon, Sask. Branches of this association's museums are located at Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto. The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (founded in 1944) also has a very rare and valuable collection, located at the Ukrainian National Federation Building, Winnipeg, Man. The director and curator of the latter, Tetiana Koshetz has contributed very much to the maintenance of this museum, and to the study and interpretation of Ukrainian handiwork in Canada.

31 Cf. Stechishin, Savella. Artistic Treasures of Ukrainian Embroideries. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Women's Ass'n. of Canada, 1950, 136 p.

Ruryk, Nancy R. compiler and ed. Ukrainian embroidery designs and stitches. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Women's Ass'n. of Canada, 1958, 130 p.

32 Quoted after: Rudnycky, J. B. Ukrainian-Canadian folklore. Texts in English translation. Ukrainica Occidentalia. Vol. VII (5) Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1960. p. 5

33 Ibid. p. 7



NOTES TO CHAPTER 111 (continued)

34 Cf. the item quoted under #32 as well as: Ukrainian-Canadian folklore and dialectological texts.1 Ukrainica Occidentalia. Vol. 111 (1), Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1956; 2, Vol. V (3), 1958; 4, Vol. 1X (7), 1962-1963. 694 p.

35 R. B. Klymash also collected folklore texts under the auspices of Canada Council and the National Museum at Ottawa.

36 Cf. Pasternakova, Maria. Ukrainian woman in choreography. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Women's Ass'n. of Canada, 1964, 238 p.

37 Stechishin, Savella. Traditional Ukrainian Cookery. Winnipeg, Trident Press Ltd., 1957, 497 p.





## CHAPTER 1V

### Religious life

As previously mentioned, most of the Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada in the first wave of immigration were peasants; a large percentage of them were illiterate and poor in material possessions. To Canada they flocked, as to the idealized "land of promise," with high hopes to improve their status and that of their children. To achieve this end they were not afraid to face the "unknown." They were willing to toil and to sweat; to give unstintingly of themselves because they were determined to make-good in the new land.

Although they did not come to Canada with any degree of material wealth, they were not paupers in spirit. Encountering them in the early periods of their arrival, they may have appeared to be an impoverished and an odd-looking group, especially to those who were unfamiliar with their historical and cultural background. Humble and naive, perhaps in their outward appearance, they were actually rich in their spiritual and cultural life. Their folk culture and their religiousness were their most prized heritage, nurtured from generation to generation through bright and dark periods of their history. Thus to Canada these immigrants came equipped with the necessary qualifications for potential wealth: physical and spiritual. Their religious beliefs and their own cultural background played an important role right from the beginning, sustaining them in the trying period of taking root in a new land, in a strange environment.



### Early congregations

It should be emphasized again that it never even occurred to the newcomers that settling in Canada would be at the cost of losing their ethnic identity in so far as their language, religion and traditions were concerned. The natural need to continue their traditional forms of life, not only individually, but as a group is quite evident by the fact that in the very early days, when they had hardly cleared the first acres of land, they began to congregate on Sundays and Feast Days in neighboring huts for their religious rituals and ceremonies. They began erecting church buildings even before there were Ukrainian priests to administer to their needs. The first congregation was organized in the Edna-Star district of Alberta in 1897. Father Nestor Dmytriw, a guest Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest from the United States of America, was the first clergyman to conduct a service for this congregation in that year. A church building was erected the following year. About the same time or soon after, other congregations were formed in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan and the erection of church buildings followed.

### Lack of spiritual leaders

Though self-reliant and eager to build their life anew in Canada, these first settlers lacked their own spiritual and intellectual leaders. This deficiency was eventually the cause of far-reaching consequences; it shaped the pattern of their church and secular life for many years to come. Its affect is even felt today in many aspects of life within the group.





When Dr. Oleskow began to organize his groups of emigres for settlement in Canada, he was reluctant to see them leave without leadership. He made an effort, therefore, to provide guides at least for the period of transit.<sup>38</sup> The problem of providing spiritual leaders for his emigres was not as easily solved.

Dr. Oleskow attempted to interest priests to emigrate with the people, but was unsuccessful in his endeavours. In this respect he wrote to H. J. Macdonald, Minister of the Interior, on May 16, 1896 stressing the necessity of spiritual leaders of the same faith and nationality as those of the people. To encourage them to emigrate, he suggested that the Government provide a nominal salary for the priests, until such time that the settlers would be in a position to finance such services themselves. This request was unprecedented and of such character that the Government was not prepared to copy with it. Thus problems of religious character were, therefore, the first to develop within the group:

"Closely attached to the church in their native land, the Ukrainian pioneers found religious circumstances in Canada most perplexing, and many despaired. The vast majority having come from Galicia and Bukovina which were under Austrian rule, were accustomed to the Greek Catholic or the Greek Orthodox Churches, both of which were extremely hostile to the Roman Catholic Church on the grounds that it was a Polish, and hence an enemy church. Consequently, they looked with suspicion on the Canadian Roman Catholic Church. They were also antagonistic to the Protestant sects, which they did not understand because of the language barrier. At first they built no churches of their own; such a responsibility had been in the hands of the state in the old country...For several years, therefore, the settlers often gathered in private homes and chanted mass as best they could..." 39



### Confusion and differentiation

The Ukrainian settlers began to appeal for their own priests, but just as in Dr. Oleskow's case, the appeals went unheeded. Except for brief visits of guest priests from the USA (e.g. Rev. Dmytriw a. o.), who temporarily satisfied acute needs, the people were left alone. Under such circumstances, it was only natural that missionaries of various denominations, already established in Canada or USA, should begin their activities among the clergyless people. The competition for "souls" greatly confused the early Ukrainian settlers. Bitter quarrels and even fights ensued, dividing not only members of the same communities, but even members of the same families. Some of the methods used in this struggle were reminiscent of the religious intolerance of the Reformation period in Europe.

### Two traditional Ukrainian Churches emerge

In 1912 the Ukrainian Bishop M. Budka arrived in Canada. He incorporated the scattered Ukrainian Catholic Church communities into the dominion-wide "Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church" in 1913, and thus released it from the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Canada. He had hoped to bring law and order into the Church. Despite his efforts in this respect, the struggle within the group continued, even leading to several lawsuits. Finally, the rift reached a climax in 1918 when the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was organized. Most of the founders of this new formation were former Ukrainian Greek Catholics who were not happy with the fact that their Church was under the jurisdiction of the French Catholic Bishops. They were distrustful of this patronage





which they believed would eventually lead to the Latinization of their Church.

The newly formed Church also attracted people who were members of the Orthodox Faith, but who wanted to see the Church free of Russian Orthodox influence. It also appealed to those who felt a need for an independent Ukrainian Church with no ties with either Rome or Moscow, and which would conduct services in modern Ukrainian language. (The Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox Church conducted their services in Old Church Slavic).

Thus after years of chaos, strife, lawsuits, bitterness, final forms of church life came into being. Alongside the Greek Catholic, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church emerged. Nevertheless, hostility at all levels between the Churches continued for many years.

#### Ecclesiastical duality established

Firstly, the ecclesiastical duality in Canada corresponds to the ecclesiastical duality in the Old Country; as in Ukraine where there was an Orthodox Church and a Catholic one, similar repartition was established here. One difference was in the proportion of members: while in Ukraine the majority of the people belonged to the Orthodox Faith, in Canada, the majority adhered to the Catholic Church. Only in recent times<sup>40</sup> relative statistical balance has been achieved. Also, as far as the orthodox churches are concerned, there was this difference; in Ukraine the Orthodox Church was under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was independent.





Secondly, the ecclesiastical differentiation in Canada led to a kind of competition, especially in the retaining of Ukrainian characteristics and religious practices in both churches. This is manifested by Rites, Liturgical language, retainment of the Julian Calendar, and of course in the clerical hierarchy at all levels. Today both Churches have their own bishops and metropolitans. The head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk heads the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Thirdly, the two dominant churches attracted Ukrainians who, due to circumstances, belonged to the Russian Orthodox or Roman Catholic Churches. There was no need to switch to non-Ukrainian Churches when their own traditional ecclesiastical structures embraced the whole context.

Nevertheless, with the passing of time, more and more individuals of the rising generations, born in Canada, are joining the existing non-Ukrainian Churches in Canada, as e. g. former Ukrainian Catholics<sup>40 A</sup> affiliate with the Roman Catholics; others join Anglican, Protestant, or other denominations. There may be a number of reasons for this change in church affiliations, but the main cause seems to be in the language problem. As the Ukrainian language is lost, it is more convenient to attend a Church where the services are conducted in the English language.

The negative side of this religious dualism was the intolerance and open animosity which existed between the two Churches for many years. This distrustfulness and hostility paralysed



efforts to meet on common grounds in such matters as vernacular schools, education in general, cultural endeavours (libraries, museums, research centres), publication centres, etc. Consequently, the Ukrainians in Canada are sharply divided and designated either as "Catholics" or "Orthodox." Even the secular organizations are affected by this division, most of them are affiliated (officially or unofficially) with one church group or the other. There are very few Ukrainian secular organizations in Canada which are fully independent of the Church and which do not question religious beliefs of their members.





NOTES TO CHAPTER 1V

38 Cyril Genik was one of the guides who accompanied Dr. Oleskow's first group of emigres to Canada in 1896. Capable and fairly well educated with knowledge of English, German and Slavic languages, he was later engaged by the Department of Interior as interpreter and counsellor to the immigrants. He was stationed in Winnipeg, working for the Government in this capacity from 1897 to 1911.

39 Cf. Yuzyk, Paul. The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953. p. 70

40 See DBS 1961 census.

40a For the trend in this respect see DBS census of 1951 and 1961.



1. Educational endeavours and achievements

Along with the religious problems - church formations and organizations - the Ukrainians in Canada devoted much time and energy to the educational aspect of their life. Some study and research has already been made in elucidating these efforts. The findings have been published as complete works in itself or were incorporated in larger studies of Ukrainian life in Canada.

It should be noted, that in various other publications on Ukrainians in Canada, special attention was paid to educational problems. In reviewing some of these works, however, it appears that most of the authors follow a beaten path in their approach to this subject. They write about the first years of Ukrainian settlement in Canada when new school districts were being organized and school buildings were erected; about the difficulties encountered in acquiring qualified teachers for these schools in the developing communities; The lack of communication between the teachers and the settlers due to the language barrier and the resulting difficulties which developed. All these studies delve into the bilingual school system in the Prairie Provinces, especially in Manitoba, and the problems which evolved, eventually leading to the abolishment of this system.

Some of the earlier writers reached the conclusion that Ukrainians were antagonistic towards the Public School system of education and were openly hostile and opposed to the English-speaking teachers, fearing them to be the major factors in the





assmilation process.<sup>43</sup> Later writers on the same subject, without deeper study or further research, repeated this illusion.<sup>44</sup> One writer went even further and added that some of the Ukrainian leaders not only feared assimilation, but were so "nationalistic" that they had dreams of creating a<sup>45</sup> new Ukraine in Western Canada.

That difficulties existed in the initial stages of establishing schools in remote areas is a known fact, but many of the problems which arose were quite common to other non-Ukrainian settlements. Lack of experience in conducting school affairs; extreme personal hardships, and, as in the case of Ukrainians, lack of knowledge of the English language, as well as unfamiliarity with the laws and ways of the country were an additional handicap. There were isolated cases where the settlers neglected their children's schooling, keeping them at home to tend to the farm and household chores. There were others who kept the children at home periodically to help with urgent seasonal work (spring seeding and harvesting). There are cases known that children were denied the privilege of schooling due to economic reasons. Often the children did not have the necessary clothing to tramp long distances to<sup>46</sup> school, especially in cold and wet seasons of the year. But such cases were marginal and only in the very first years of their settlement. Despite of those hardships, the Ukrainian settlers longed for an opportunity of education which was denied to them in their own homeland. Recent statistics show



that the Ukrainian immigrants took advantage of the educational<sup>47</sup> opportunities which were open to them in Canada.

The role of pioneer "Ukrainian-English" school teachers

The highly idealistic and influential role of the pioneer "Ukrainian-English" school teachers is still to be illuminated by some scholar-historian. But anyone at all familiar with the educational and cultural development of Ukrainians in Canada is aware of the important role these first teachers played in all spheres of their life. They were truly the first spiritual "trail blazers" among the Ukrainians in Canada.

Where did these teachers come from when, in the foregoing chapters of this work, it was noted that the Ukrainian immigrants arrived in this country without leaders?

One must bear in mind that with the establishment of new schools, more teachers were urgently needed. Of the available non-Ukrainian teachers, the majority were reluctant to teach in the remote "foreign" areas. On the other hand, the settlers too had their preferences. Not knowing the English language, they felt it would be easier for all concerned to have teachers<sup>48</sup> conversant in both - Ukrainian and English. To meet this requirement, the Manitoba Government in 1905 opened a special Normal School in Winnipeg which was officially known as the Ruthenian Training School. In 1907 the School was transferred to Brandon where it functioned until 1916, when the bilingual school system was abolished.

The principal of the school was J. T. Cressy and the instructors in the Ukrainian language were J. Makohin, D. D. Pyrch,





T. D. Ferley, Professor Petro Karmansky and Ivan Basarab. One of the graduates of this school, Michael Stechishin (later a lawyer, then a judge in the Province of Saskatchewan), prepared the first and second grade readers, known as the "Manitoba-Ruthenian English Readers," authorized by the Advisory Board and published by the Provincial Department of Education in 1913 and 1914 respectively. A similar Reader was prepared and published by P. Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta.

As far as the Province of Saskatchewan was concerned, for this purpose the "English School for Foreigners" was established at Regina in 1909. The Regina school although with the same objectives as the Brandon school, never attained the same popularity or prestige. There were two Ukrainian instructors on its staff: W. Pliatsko and N. Romaniuk.<sup>49</sup>

In the province of Alberta the Government set up "The English School for Foreigners" at Vegreville in 1913. It ceased to function in 1916, but it too never achieved the same success as the Brandon School did.

The students recruited for the "Ruthenian Training School" in Manitoba as well as the other schools, were very young men in their 'teens or early twenties. Some of them had arrived in Canada with their parents and had settled with them on homesteads. Others arrived individually in the first decade of the century. They were progressive young men with junior or high school education. Due to their rather bold and advanced ideas they were considered to be "radicals" in the Old Country.





Eventually these young people became leaders in the communities where they worked and had a great influence on the Ukrainian settlers. Their progressive and idealistic efforts made a strong impact on the mentality of the Ukrainian population and kindled in them a strong desire for knowledge and self-advancement. These teachers not only encouraged education for the young, but for adults too. Thus they deemed it their moral duty to lecture on various topics to the older segment of the population. This was done after school hours or on their free days, such as Sundays or Holidays. They encouraged the people to subscribe to newspapers and periodicals and to purchase books. Many Ukrainian Literary Societies and Ukrainian Community Organizations, established in Ukrainian settlements right across the country, were actually initiated by these first pioneer Ukrainian-English school teachers. Moreover, they advocated progressive ideas in general advancement and self-betterment through education in all aspects of personal and community life; they also laid emphasis on the desirability to preserve and foster the group's specific cultural attributes.

These teacher-leaders knew their people well, had faith in their potential as citizens of Canada, but at the same time they were aware of the dangers involved in too sudden assimilation. They understood that by dropping their own cultural heritage, a <sup>VACUUM</sup> ~~void~~ would be created which would leave these people in a spiritual "no man's land." They were conscious of the fact that the people, being predominantly of peasant stock with none



or very little formal schooling, needed time for adjustment and adaptation and for this process they needed their own institutions. Here we refer to R. R. Taft who contends:

"Assimilation is effected with a minimum of friction and personal demoralization when it is group-wise. That is, the very institutions believed by natives to prevent assimilation, may act as a media for the interpretation of the dominant culture to the migrants. They no doubt operate to preserve the more personal elements in the old culture, but they aid in the adjustment of the individual to the surrounding group at least in those matters held to be most important by the latter. Without this protection of his own group, the individual is lost and suffers serious personal demoralization."50

Thus the motives of these teachers were incomprehensible to non-Ukrainians who were observing their work as teachers and leaders of communities; consequently, the teachers were sometime labeled as extreme "nationalists" who were retarding the process of assimilation.

It is estimated that approximately 200 teachers were trained in these Training Schools. Many of them taught school for a number of years, then went on to Universities to realize their aspirations for professional careers. It is generally considered as a fact that the first Ukrainian-English teachers<sup>51</sup> formed the nucleus of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada. From this group emerged representatives of most of the professions and vocations in Canada: editors, publishers, lawyers, medical doctors, agriculturists, clergymen, businessmen, judges, members of Provincial and Federal Houses of Parliament. As striking examples of this, the following should be mentioned:

Orest Zerebko, a graduate of the Brandon School, was the first University graduate of Ukrainian origin in Canada, receiv-





his B.A. degree in 1913 from the University of Manitoba; he became editor of "Ukrainian Voice," later succeeded in business and was elected to the Saskatchewan Legislature.

T. D. Ferley, one of the teachers in the Brandon School, was elected to the Manitoba Legislature in 1915, being the first MLA of Ukrainian origin in this province. He also served on the Winnipeg Council as alderman.

Other teachers were: George Skwarok, who received his B.A. in 1915 and his M.A. in 1919; J. W. Arsehych, who in 1917 graduated in law and became the first Ukrainian lawyer in Canada and in the year 1948 became the first Ukrainian judge in Canada; D. Yakimischak, later MLA in the province of Manitoba and a lawyer by profession; F. T. Hawryluk was made Inspector of Schools in Saskatchewan; Michael Luchkovich taught school in Alberta for many years, continued his studies at the University and was the first Ukrainian to be elected to the Federal Parliament in 1926. He not only became an outstanding parliamentarian, but has achievements in the literary field as well. P. H. Woycenko became publisher and manager of the newspaper "Ukrainian Voice", established in 1910. Illia Kiriak continued with his teaching career and at the same time developed his literary talents, eventually producing his monumental three volume "Sons of the Soil". W. A. Chumer became a successful business<sup>MAN</sup> and is the author of "Memoirs". Vasyl' Kudryk edited Ukrainian newspapers for a number of years, later became a priest, serving in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox



Church. A. T. Kibzey and Ivan Orobko both became medical practitioners. The list of former pioneer school teachers who have succeeded in other professions and occupations is almost inexhaustible. The above mentioned few testify that they not only became leaders of their own group, but in their various fields of occupation contributed to the general stream of Canadian life.

Efforts to maintain the Ukrainian language

The abolishment of both, the official bilingual school system in Manitoba in 1916 and the semi-official bilingual teaching in public schools of Saskatchewan and Alberta was of deep concern to Ukrainians. Confronted with this reality they realized that they would have to rely on their own resources in teaching the Ukrainian language their rising, mostly Canadian born generation.

The strongest form of reaction manifested itself in the establishment of "bursas." These Ukrainian students' hostels were established at Saskatoon in 1916 (the P. Mpyhyla Ukrainian Institute); at St. Boniface in 1917 (The Metropolitan Sheptisky Bursa); at Edmonton in 1917 (M. Hrushevsky Institute).<sup>52</sup>

These student hostels were similar in operation to resident schools. Students came from outlying districts in the provinces to study at the city High Schools, Normal Schools and Universities, receiving board and lodging at the institutes. To be accepted by the institutes, the students had to comply to specific regulations, especially in regards to the study of Ukrainian language and related subjects, as this was





one of the most important of the aims and objectives of these institutions. After regular school hours and on Saturdays and holidays, the students were instructed in the Ukrainian language, history, literature, music, drama, folk dancing, folk art, etc. Thus by attending the Institute, the students had an opportunity for a well rounded education: firstly, by attending the public schools, they acquired the standard education offered by them, secondly, residing in the institutes, they were taught Ukrainian disciplines. Thus equipped, these "graduate" students of the institutes were not only gainfully employed in various fields of occupation, but also were well prepared to lead in the cultural activities of their respective communities. To a great extent these former students of the institutes became not only leaders of their group in their communities (successor to the pioneer-teachers), but attained responsible positions in Canadian life in general.

The vernacular schools also helped to preserve and develop the Ukrainian language in Canada. The schools commonly known as "Ridna Shkola" mushroomed all over the country, wherever there was a sufficient number of children to warrant the maintenance of such schools. One of the most important functions of the Ukrainian Community Halls, Ukrainian National Homes ("Narodni Domy"), Literary Societies ("Prosvitas"), were to conduct classes in Ukrainian. In areas where there were no Ukrainian community halls, permission was sought from the local School Boards to conduct Ukrainian classes in the Schools after regular school hours. Thus it was a familiar sight all over





Western Canada to see Ukrainian children stay behind after hours for additional lessons in the Ukrainian language and related subjects. The will to preserve the language manifested itself in this way too. And here again the teachers of Ukrainian background performed a dual role, as did their pioneer forerunners.

The Student Institutes increased in number and were thriving institutions throughout the years. The Metropolitan Sheptytsky Institute of St. Boniface, Man., though forced to close in 1924, emerged again under the same name in Saskatoon, Sask. In recent years all these Institutes expanded and built modern buildings, the latest and most modern building was erected for the P. Mohyla Institute at Saskatoon, the formal opening took place on August 14, 1965. A new institute - the St. Vladimir, was formally opened at Toronto in 1963, although in temporary quarters for the present, plans are now underway for expansion and the erection of more appropriate buildings.

In addition to the institutes, a number of private Confessional Schools were established, whose aims, in addition to religious instruction, are the preservation and perpetuation of the group's cultural heritage.

One of the first schools in this category in Canada is the Ukrainian Catholic St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg, operated by Ukrainian nuns since 1905. And even earlier, the Sacred Heart School was established in Edmonton. These schools came into being through the aid of Roman Catholic Missions and through



the efforts of Bishops Langevin and Legal. Later schools were established at Sifton and Yorkton. The school at Sifton after a few years of operation closed, however, the Sacred Heart Academy, Yorkton, Sask., established in 1915 is not only in full operation today but is expanding from year to year. St. Joseph's College, also at Yorkton, Sask., was established in 1919. It is operated by the Redemptorist Fathers and it too has expanded its facilities. Of these educational institutions J. Skwarok commented:

"St. Joseph's College, Sacred Heart Academy, and St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg are three educational institutions which were founded to meet the needs of the Ukrainian settlers and have continued to exist to this day. They began their pioneering task in the most difficult circumstances, but the heroic dedication on the part of the early founders and loyal teachers made them grow and flourish successfully. They have turned out hundreds of highly cultured young men and women who today are prominent and respected citizens of Canada and the United States." 53

More recent institutions are: St. Vladimir School, Roblin, Manitoba, Mount Mary Immaculate Academy, Ancaster, Ontario, both Ukrainian Catholic, as well as others. The latest achievement of the Ukrainian Orthodox group was the expansion of St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. Established in 1946, in the former buildings of St. John's College in north Winnipeg, it was associated with the University of Manitoba in 1963 when new buildings were erected on the campus of this University. Although its main interest is to educate men for priesthood in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, its long range plan is to become a full fledged affiliated College

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that the study of the history of the English language is not only a matter of historical interest, but also a matter of practical importance. The study of the history of the English language is essential for the understanding of the English language in its present state. The study of the history of the English language is also essential for the understanding of the English language in its future state. The study of the history of the English language is also essential for the understanding of the English language in its present and future state.

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with a faculty in arts. As in the institutes, private schools and other colleges, the Ukrainian disciplines are an important part of the curriculum.

In addition to all the aforementioned educational institutions, the Ukrainian Teachers' Association of Canada initiated a summer school in 1924 in the Ukrainian disciplines. This first summer course was held at University of Manitoba. It was the forerunner of Summer Courses conducted by the institutes in 1930's, later in the 1940's by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre and St. Andrew's College, both in Winnipeg.

There were periods of great interest in these Summer Schools and attendance was very high, attracting students from all over Canada and the USA. Top Ukrainian intellectuals were brought to Canada as lecturers, for e. g. Professor O. Boczkovsky of Prague, Czechoslovakia, renowned scholar and sociologist was guest lecturer in the summer of 1936 at the institutes in Saskatoon and Edmonton. Professor Dmytro Doroshenko, from Prague and Warsaw, scholar and historian, was guest lecturer at the Summer Schools in 1937 and 1938. Professor Ol. Koshetz, renowned conductor and composer, lectured at the Summer School courses in Winnipeg. After World War II, such scholars as Professor Leonid Biletsky, Dr. V. Martynec a. o. lectured in Winnipeg and other centres.

In taking into account these various schools and educational institutions which were organized primarily for the purpose of teaching Ukrainian disciplines, one must bear in mind, that



except for the Ukrainian Catholic Institutions, which received some financial assistance from the Roman Catholic Missionary Societies, all the other Ukrainian institutions of teaching and learning were financed by donations from the Ukrainian population itself. There are literally thousands of Ukrainians in Canada who annually contribute to the upkeep of these institutions thus assuring their maintenance and existence. Extremely touching are the first donors,<sup>54</sup> donating generously, sometimes even mortgaging their farmsteads, because they believed in the value of education. Many of them, not having an opportunity to acquire an education themselves, wanted the rising generation to be afforded that which was denied them.

Finally, as the years went by, the media for acquiring Ukrainian disciplines extended to High Schools. This grew out of sheer necessity and practi<sup>ca</sup>bility. In 1945 Slavic(including Ukrainian) Studies were established at the University of Saskatchewan, followed by the University of Ottawa in 1948; Manitoba and Toronto in 1949; Alberta in 1959 and Vancouver in 1964.

The University of Saskatchewan, however, is the only one to recognize the Ukrainian language and literature as high school subjects with full matriculation qualifications for University entrance. Most of the other Universities include Ukrainian as an optional (elective) subject in humanities. In both cases, Ukrainian is a fully credited academic discipline.

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Since the abolishment of the bilingual School System, the Ukrainians in Canada have striven in various ways, from gene-





ration to generation, to maintain their language through the following media:

(a) Student hostels - Ukrainian Institutes, private schools (the latter usually Catholic in operation by Ukrainian nuns or fathers), Colleges - Catholic and Orthodox.

(b) Secular vernacular schools (Ridna Shkola) for e. g. in Ukrainian National Homes, Ukrainian Literary Societies, Ukrainian Labor Temples or Halls (Ukrainian communist groups); after school hours instruction in Public schools.

(c) Parochial Schools - Sunday Schools and after public school hours instruction in Ukrainian and related subjects (similar in system to the secular vernacular schools). Both Catholic and Orthodox Churches have such schools. Kindergarten schools exist in some of the churches which prepare the younger children for entrance to Sunday School or Ukrainian School.

(d) Summer Schools (usually a highly condensed course of six weeks) conducted by the Ukrainian institutes, St. Andrew's College, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Ukrainian National Federation. In recent years summer camps have been in operation by a number of Ukrainian churches where, alongside recreational activities, elementary Ukrainian, songs and dances are taught. These are proving to be very popular with the younger folk.

(e) Correspondence courses: These were popular before World War II when courses were taken from Ukrainian institutions of higher learning in Europe, e. g. Ukrainian Technological Institute of Podebrade, Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian Free University at Prague.





(f) Adult education: (1) Systematic lectures for adults. (2) Sporadic in character. (Usually sponsored and conducted by secular organizations).

(g) Academic lectures: A kind of folk-university with systematic lectures for adults was initiated in 1949 by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) in Winnipeg. Under the general term "Academic lectures" a wide range of subjects were covered. The Ukrainian language, literature and culture as well as history are the predominant themes in presentation and discussion. Top scholars (including non-Ukrainians) from Canada, the USA, and even from Europe participated in the ventures since its inception.

(h) The most recent venture in this field was the formation of the Ukrainian Language Association of Canada in 1964. Its main purpose is to create interest in the language; to cultivate it to the highest literary standard; to increase the vocabulary. The Association is headed by C. Bida, University of Ottawa. the official publication of the Association is "Word on guard", edited by J. B. Rudnyckyj.

#### Changing times

In reviewing the ways and means at the various levels of the group's efforts to keep the Ukrainian language alive and functional in Canada, one comes to the conclusion that there was a strong will among these people to perpetuate the language. The methods used to achieve this goal in the first two or three decades in Canada seemed to be quite adequate. The children or



young adults taught in the established schools and institutions were mostly first generation Ukrainian Canadians, who came from homes where the mother tongue was spoken. They were, therefore, conversant in the Ukrainian language, were basically prepared to further pursue the study of the language and related subjects.

In the course of time, however, conditions have changed. Today these educational institutions have to deal with the third and fourth Canadian born generations, many of them coming from homes where the mother tongue is rarely used. They have no basic knowledge of the language; English is their first and only language. Therefore, in this respect, the task for these institutions is much more difficult than it was in the past, and, as a result, they are not as successful. There are, of course, other factors which need to be considered.

#### Lack of consolidation

One of the greatest shortcomings in this whole system of Ukrainian schools is lack of consolidation or at least co-ordination. There has been no serious attempt made to provide a common curriculum and common text books, <sup>55</sup> suitable for Canadian children. There has been overlapping and inefficiency; duplication in efforts, because the leaders of both Churches and of the various factions of Ukrainian secular organizations will not get together on matters of Ukrainian studies. Basically the problem of maintaining the language in Canada appears to be the prime concern of all the church and secular organizations and yet they have not united to mutually strengthen their en-





efforts. No doubt, this is one of the reasons for the low standards in the vernacular schools. They are outdated in many ways and are not attractive to the present generation of pupils, many of whom attend the schools, only because of the strong pressure of their parents. The results are, therefore, far from satisfactory and pupils "seldom learn the language with permanent fluency and comprehension."<sup>56</sup>

These schools are operated independently of one another. The success of each school depending entirely on the calibre and individual merits of the teacher; because of this, the standard of teaching fluctuates. There seems to be no scientific approach to the whole question of Ukrainian studies and Ukrainian schools. The approach is rather sentimental in character and, therefore, parochial in its scope.<sup>57</sup>

A number of qualified pedagogues, experiencing difficulties in Ukrainian schools operated in such a haphazard manner, were anxious to improve this situation. With this in view, they called a conference in 1956 in Toronto, and as a result of their deliberations, the "Association of Ukrainian Pedagogues of Canada" came into being.

Since its inception, this organization has taken the lead in studying problems concerning Ukrainian schools and studies. Periodic seminars are held at which top level papers are presented and discussed. Some of the guest lecturers, specialists in their field, were brought in from outside Canada to participate at these seminars, e. g. Dr. O. Kulchyskyj, Ukrainian Free University, Munich, West Germany, and Dr. W. Holubnychyj, New York.



In its few years of existence, this association of pedagogues has proven to be a constructive and objective group of people interested mainly in raising the standards and co-ordinating the work of Ukrainian schools throughout Canada; nevertheless, it has not been successful to attract to its fold all factions of Ukrainian organizations which operate schools. It seems that confessional differentiations and partisan attitudes prevailing in the various organizations are the main obstacles in unifying the Ukrainians in this sphere. To this effect, strong and appealing arguments from this Association were heard at the last Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, held in Winnipeg October 9 - 11, 1965.<sup>58</sup>

Due to this lack of centralization and consolidation, no statistics are available as to the number of schools functioning in Canada at the present time, and the total number of pupils enrolled.

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Along with efforts to maintain the Ukrainian language in Canada, the general educational level of the group was raised from generation to generation. Comparing their economical, social and intellectual status of the present with that when they first arrived here, their progress has been remarkable in many fields. In some technical, professional and artistic-creative categories they are still behind in comparison to Canadians of other origins, but they are gaining in stride.<sup>59</sup> All this, as G. W. Simpson wrote, is due to their "terrific energy, persistence, and obstinate determination to succeed."<sup>60</sup>



## 2. Scholarship

Ukrainian scholarship is quite a new venture in the life of Ukrainian Canadians. Prior to World War II, there were only individual efforts in this sphere. When the executive officers of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences arrived in Canada with Professors D. Doroshenko and L. Biletsky at the helm, organized scholarly activity began. In 1948 the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) was formally established in Winnipeg. About the same time the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society was established in Toronto.

The activities of both learned societies centre around research work, primarily in the field of Ukrainian history, literature, language, folklore, bibliography, etc. A number of scholarly publications appeared in print, such as the series in Slavistica, Onomastica, a. o.<sup>61</sup>

A special domain of research and publishing activity of the Academy are studies in the field of Ukrainian and Slavic culture in Canada. Such first-hand material as that which was included in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts ( 4 volumes), Ukrainian Libraries in Canada, Canadian Geographical Names of Ukrainian origin, and the bibliographic series - Ukrainica Canadiana (annual surveys since 1953), etc., is a definite contribution to studies in the humanities and social sciences.

Individual research goes along with organized one. There are a number of recognized specialists in the field of science. Some of them have already been mentioned in this work.





In the field of humanities, Departments of Slavic Studies at several Universities, besides teaching, are actively engaged in research and publishing. The Department at the University of Manitoba has been very productive and seems to lead in publishing activities of Canadian Slavists. Four volumes of Readings in Slavic Folklore (Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and Canadian Slavic) was followed by six issues in Readings in Slavic Literature, and now the Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian language in English is being published. In 1959 the University of Saskatchewan published an extensive Ukrainian-English Dictionary by Andrusyshyn and Krett. University of Toronto produced seven volumes of Slavonic Papers and Universite de Montreal, 10 volumes of Etudes Slaves et Est-Europeans.

Individual research work in the humanities is being carried on by such authors as: Dr. V. J. Kaye (Ottawa), Dr. C. Bida (Ottawa University), Prof. V. Rewutsky (University of British Columbia), Dr. Y. Slavutych (University of Alberta), Dr. J. B. Rudnyckyj and R. B. Klymasz (University of Manitoba), A. Gregorovich (Toronto), V. Buyniak (Saskatoon), Prof. B. Bociurkiw (Edmonton), J. W. Stechishin (Saskatoon), Dr. P. Yuzyk and Dr. M. Marunchak (Winnipeg).

In evaluating the achievements of Ukrainian scholars, it is interesting to note that they are of quite recent date. In the first decades of Ukrainians' educational efforts, stress was laid on education in the various professional fields, thus lawyers, medical practitioners, dentists, pharmacists, etc.,



began to emerge from the group. Studies in the field of humanities were rather neglected and it is only in the past decade or two that scholars in this sphere began to emerge. Notwithstanding the recency in this field and the still inadequate number, progress has been made and it could be said that these scholars have topped the educational efforts of Ukrainians in Canada.

### 3. Literature

The first Ukrainian book published in Canada appeared in 1904. It was an Ukrainian-English Catechism with parallel texts in both languages which included, among others, Ukrainian translations of psalms and religious hymns. As mentioned above, the first Ukrainian periodical was the "Canadian Farmer" which began its publication in 1903. Both books and periodical publications appeared since that time in increasing numbers from year to year and served as the basis for the development of Ukrainian letters in Canada. According to Watson Kirkconnell:

"Citizens of Canada... probably know little of the striking amount of literature that has been published in Canada in the Ukrainian language.... The field of greatest endeavor is poetry, especially the lyric. At least ten thousand Ukrainian poems lie mouldering in the back files of the Ukrainian-Canadian press. The deeply moving experience of transplanting one's life from ancestral earth in Europe into the strange soil of a new land **beyond the** ocean finds expression in this poetry. The lonesome life of the frontier, the nostalgic heart-break, the toil and hardship and discouragement of the new venture are blended with resolute courage and hope and an increasing regard for the new country and the new home. If it were nothing else, this foreign language poetry would be valuable to the historian and the sociologist in their study of the human and emotional side of migration. I venture to predict, however, that some future scholar will sift all these back files of the press and will find a precious residue of enduring literary merit." 62





The history of Ukrainian letters in Canada is arbitrarily divided into three main periods: (1) Period prior to World War I, (2) period between two World Wars, and (3) period after World War II.<sup>63</sup>

Typical of the first group is Theo. Fedyk with his Immigrant Songs of the Old Land and the New (Winnipeg, 1908). This publication of poetry went through several editions and it is claimed that more than 50,000 copies of this volume were sold. There were other writers in this period, who, imitating the style of Ukrainian folk songs (in particular that of "kolo-myjka" song) expressed their nostalgic feelings for their former homeland, alongside the hardships of their pioneer life in Canada, e. g. S. Charneskyj, M. Gowda, I. Drohomoresky, V. Kudryk, Ivan Novosad, S. Kowbel, Rev. P. Bozyk.

Nostalgic elements continued to be predominant in Ukrainian poetry and prose also after World War I, viz. works of Viktor and Volod. Kupchenko, V. Toolevitriw, A. Gospodyn, T. K. Pavlychenko, O. Ewach, Iv. Danylchuk, N. L. Kobuska, M. I. Mandryka, M. Humka, Tetiana Kroitor as well as others. Nevertheless, it was also in this period that a new trend in Ukrainian Canadian letters began to develop - the poetical interpretation of the Canadian reality. Writings with themes on Ukrainian Canadian life began to appear, some in the English language. It seems that this turning point in Ukrainian Canadian letters goes back to the year 1923, when Dr. Osyp Nazaruk from Lviv, during his Canadian lecture tour at that time, clearly emphasized the



necessity for Ukrainian writers to face thematic problems of Ukrainian-Canadian life in their works. In his opinion, the new Ukrainian Canadian letters, "must sculpture their

character and style on the basis of the Canadian environment and Canadian life.

"Transplanting of the Old Country's pains and sorrows on Canadian soil...will not contribute to the original creative art in Canada worthy of that name...You live in Canada, consequently, your ideas and imagination should be stimulated by motives and forms for literary creativity here and not elsewhere... Endless whining for the Old Country cannot interest anyone here nor there. Away with it! If you want to become real 64 writers become Canadian writers in Ukrainian language..."

The seed thrown by the good-will emissary from the Old Country (who himself was a novelist) began to take root and to grow. Three main trends in Ukrainian-Canadian literature since that time are observable:

- (a) continuation of traditionalistic exclusiveness;
- (b) total break away from the Old Country forms and themes;
- (c) harmonious synthesis of both, Ukrainian and Canadian reality in literary works.

First two represent a kind of literary extremism. Traditionalistic writers appealed only to those who lived with Old Country's ambitions and ideals. Some representatives of the new generation, particularly the authors who were born and raised in Canada, switched to Canadian themes exclusively, adopting in some marginal cases the English language as the only literary tool, e. g. Myra Lazachko-Haas, Vera Lysenko. They contributed to the growth of English-Canadian letters



and, to some degree, have been regarded as "Canadian" writers without any "hyphenation" whatsoever.

Yet, the majority of Ukrainian-Canadian authors combined harmoniously the Old and New countries' reality in their literary activities. Adhering to Ukrainian as the means of creative expression they contributed to the development of Canadian literary pattern and - in some instances - achieved the proper recognition. One of them, Illya Kyriak through his magnificent "saga of Western Canada" - Sons of the Soil rendered an important service to the development of Canadian letters in general. His novel (translated also into English in 1959) might be placed among the finest literary records of the Western prairies at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Turning to the urban reality of the 1930's for the theme of his novel Bezkhvatnyj (Homeless) Alexander Luhovyj (William ~~Ovrutsky~~-Shwabe) drew a realistic picture of the life in Canada during the economic crisis of that era. Unfortunately, the novel has not been, as yet, translated into English or French thus remaining unknown to the "official" Canadian literary circles. Though profoundly interested in themes taken from the Canadian surrounding both authors, Kyriak and Luhovy, faced also the Old Country reality. The same can be said of Honore Ewach, Panteleymon Bozhyk, Shtif Tabachnyuk (kind of Ukrainian-Canadian Leacock), M. I. Mandryka, a. o. The latter





one, poet and literary critic, produced recently an interesting poem Kanada in which Canadian history and Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds and walks of life are portrayed. As a piece of creative art Mandryka's poem is well constructed, magnificently styled, bright and optimistic in its mood and entirely Canadian in theme. It is a true product of Canadian thinking and Canadian literary output. Nevertheless, it was written in addition to his poetry concerned with problems of the Old Country in its diachronic and synchronic ( and even <sup>65</sup> "futuramic") perspective.

In summing up the literary achievement of Ukrainian Canadians, one can say that there was a prolific output and considerable interest in developing this branch of **creative** art. The abundant material, however, still awaits its synthesis, evaluation and objective presentation. Some attempts in this respect were made, but a thorough study of all problems involved belongs to the future.

#### 4. Libraries, archives and museums

As one of the objectives of the Ukrainian National Homes in Canada was to promote "enlightenment" more popularly known as adult-education, the need for the printed word became acute. Thus, as mentioned above, these Ukrainian community halls were the first in Canada to house Ukrainian book and periodical collections, servicing not only their members, but the community as a whole. At first books and periodicals were imported from Europe and the USA, later, as Canadian publications appeared,



these were procured. In addition there are the Church and parochial libraries, as well as private collections. So far the Ukrainians did not succeed in establishing a Central Ukrainian library, although, to this effect a resolution was passed in 1956 by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress to organize a National library, to be known as the Ivan Franko Library. A similar situation exists in the field of archives. Several of the organizations and the Churches have their own archives, there are individuals who have valuable records and other rare material stored in their own homes, but so far, no attempt has been made to organize a National Ukrainian Archive with suitable buildings.

The most noteworthy collections are as follows: Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg. (Museum, Library, and Archives); Basilian Fathers Museum, Library and Archives, Mundare, Alberta; Ukrainian Women's Ass'n. of Canada Museum and P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute Library, Saskatoon, Sask; and Ukrainian National Homes in Winnipeg and Toronto. There are also two communist supported institutions: Ivan Franko Library and Museum in Winnipeg, and T. Shevchenko Museum and Library at Palermo, Ontario.





NOTES TO CHAPTER V

41 Cf. Skwarok, J. The Ukrainian settlers in Canada and their schools 1891-1921. Edmonton, 1958. 157 p.

42 Cf. Stechishin, J. W. Twenty five years of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon. Winnipeg, P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945. 429 p.

Young, Charles, H. The Ukrainian Canadians. A study in assimilation. Toronto, Thomas Nelson & Sons Limited, 1931. 327 p.

Yuzyk, Paul. The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A social history. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953. 232 p.

43 Young, op. cit. p. 178-179

44 Yuzyk, op. cit. p. 145

45 Morton, W. L. Manitoba: A history. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1957. p. 311

46 Perepeluk, W. J. Memoirs (In manuscript)

47 Syrnick, J. H. Review of "The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A social history" by P. Yuzyk, Ukrainian Voice, Winnipeg, No. 6, 1954.

48 Especially in the province of Manitoba, because of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 with its specific clause which also provided that "when ten of the pupils speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language) and English upon the bilingual system." Cf. Morton, W. L. "Manitoba School Question". Encyclopedia Canadiana. Vol. 6. Ottawa, The Canadiana Company Limited a subsidiary of the Grolier Society of Canada Limited, 1958. p. 358.

49 Stechishin, op. cit.

50 Taft, op. cit.

51, Skwarok, op. cit. p. 69

52 A Student Hostel was established in Edmonton in 1912 and the Adam Kotsko Bursa at Winnipeg in 1915. After a few years in operation, due to financial difficulties, the institutions were forced to close.

53 Skwarok, op. cit. p. 85

continued next page.....



NOTES TO CHAPTER V - continued

54 E. g. Tymko Goshko (farmer), Vegreville, Alta., \$1,000.00; Ivan Kvasnycia, Rosthern, Sask., \$1,000.00; Luka Novosad (farmer), Meacham, Sask., \$500.00. These donations were made at the Second Annual Meeting of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, Saskatoon, Sask., in December, 1917. Cf. Stechishin, op. cit. p. 80-81.

55. Cf. Yuzyk, op. cit. p. 148

56 Ibid.

57 The Ukrainian Canadian Committee in its 25 years of existence, claiming to be "the co-ordinating body of Ukrainian Canadian organizations" was not successful in consolidating efforts in this field.

58 It should be noted here that at this Congress, the official representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, having in view the "ecumenical spirit" declared its willingness to have the Ukrainian schools re-organized on a non-denominational basis.

59 See Appendix No. 1

60 Simpson, G. W. "Sixty years and after." Ukrainian Year Book, compiled and published by F. A. Macrouch, Winnipeg. 1951-1952. p. 9

61 See Appendix No. 2

62 Kirkconnell, Watson, "Ukrainian literature in Canada." Ukrainian Year book and Ukrainians of Distinction. Compiled and published by F. A. Macrouch, Winnipeg, 1953-1954. p. 44-46.

63 Cf. Mandryka, M. I. "Ukrainian Canadian literature." Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association. The Hague, Mouton & Co. 1962. p. 306

64 Cf. Woycenko, O. Napryamni ukrayinskoyi literatury y Kanadi (Trends of Ukrainian literature in Canada). Winnipeg, 1963, p. 6.

65 Cf. Rudnyckyj, J. B. "A case of literary oscillation: tradition and originality in Ukrainian-Canadian literature." Proceedings of the 4th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association. The Hague, Mouton & Co. 1964. p. 839-842.

66 For a more complete list of church, secular and private libraries see: Rudnyckyj, J. B. Ukrainian libraries in Canada. 2nd revised edition. Winnipeg. Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1954. 48 p. See also appendix No. 3.



## CHAPTER VI

### Individual contributions

#### Architecture

As has been noted in the preceding chapters of this work, religious groups and congregations were the first to be organized by the pioneer settlers from Ukraine. Church buildings were soon to appear on the prairies. These were modest pioneer structures, but the shape and form were of a type never before seen in this country. The pioneers simply transplanted their traditional church designs to Canada.

These first Ukrainian churches were the Byzantine tri-cupola or "onion"-dome buildings, typical to the churches of their homeland. Except for the addition of such modern facilities as plumbing, heating and electrical work, the structures could be classed as prototype imports, dating centuries back, as far as architectural design was concerned.<sup>67</sup>

Gradually, architectural innovations were introduced into the buildings which now have features more in keeping with the prevailing style of architecture in the country, although the major features are traditional in design. The **result??** - a sort of an architectural hybrid structure. It is neither old in form, nor new in design, nor is it always aesthetically attractive. It is only recently, due to the individual efforts and talents of such architects as Radoslav Zuk (University of Manitoba) and Victor Deneka, that church buildings have been erected which are modern in design, spacious in planning,





admirably adapted to the terrain, and yet incorporating such traditional elements as tridomes, etc. These churches, although new in form, are an artistic synthesis of the Ukrainian past and Canadian present. In other words, the old traditional designs were creatively adapted to the new environment.<sup>68</sup>

According to the 1961 DBS census figures, there were 52 architects in Canada of Ukrainian origin. We know that this number has increased since and is on the increase annually. Most of these architects are engaged in diversified architectural projects and, in this way, are contributing to Canada's development. Stephen Roscoe, designer of Hamilton's City Hall is one of them. Alex Lasko of Toronto is another. Many other names together with their achievement could be mentioned.

The first graduate architect of Ukrainian origin in Canada, and the most eminent, is Peter Dobush. He belongs to the first Canadian-born generation, and Winnipeg is his city of birth. He contributed significantly to the design of the Atomic Energy Plant at Chalk River, Ontario. He was architect in charge of the planning of Deep River, Ontario, the town designed to house the workers at the Atomic Energy Plant. During his tenure with the National Research Council and Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. (1946-1950), he was responsible



for the design and execution of many important projects. Since opening his office in Montreal (1950), his practice has continuously expanded until it now involves many diversified projects. P. Dobush's unusual abilities were nationally recognized when in 1958 he was made Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry into the Design of the Residential Environment, sponsored by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. As a result of the Committee's findings and recommendations, the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research, with headquarters in Ottawa, was founded in 1962. Peter Dobush became the first Chairman of the Council's Board of Directors. In June, 1965, he was elected to the Housing Committee of the International Union of Architects at their annual meeting in Paris.

Besides his prolific and successful professional career, Peter Dobush is very much interested in the arts. He has one of the finest and largest private collections of works by Canadian artists. Selections of paintings from his collection have been exhibited to the general public. In the spring of 1965, he presented to the Winnipeg Art Gallery 125 paintings from his collection. This is the largest and most generous donation that this Gallery has ever received  
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from an individual.

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### Visual arts and sculpture

According to the DBS 1961 census there were 115 commercial artists of Ukrainian origin in Canada, and 22 artists in diversified fields. In the latter group, most of them were art instructors. These figures are rather disappointing, especially in the latter category, where most of them were engaged in teaching rather than devoting their full time to creative works. Nevertheless, these artists and sculptors are contributing to the development of the arts in Canada. To mention several of them individually will help us to gain insight as to their calibre of work and extent of their contribution.

We would start off with Leo Mol, who is being recognized more and more as a first-rate artist-sculptor not only nationally, but internationally as well. Commenting on Mol's work and achievements this is what the Winnipeg Free Press recently had to say:

"In the winter of 1948 a young Ukrainian... emigrated to Canada. When he arrived in this country he knew neither the land nor the language. But Leo Mol was an artist who, through the media in which he worked, spoke an international language that all who appreciate beauty could understand. Today his name and work are known throughout Canada and abroad."

The article continues with an account of the artist's attempts in establishing himself in Canada; his mural paintings in churches; his ceramic work; his works in stained glass and sculpture, concluding:



"He was runner-up in a competition for a statue of Sir Robert Borden... and in 1960 he won the Elite Artists' Medal of the Royal Canadian Institute of Architecture (Ottawa) for his work in sculpture and stained glass...in 1962...he won an international competition... and was commissioned to do a statue of the Ukrainian poet (Shevchenko)... in Washington. From this came his most recent invitation - to do a bust of General Eisenhower...Today Mr. Mol's work as a sculptor is in permanent collections in various cities throughout Canada..."70

This is the success story of Leo Mol, one of the artists who has made good in Canada and has contributed to the cultural enrichment of his adopted country. As he grows in stature as a Canadian artist on the international level, he brings to Canada greater recognition in the artistic field.

Peter Kuch as a caricaturist has become nationally known. He also has portrait paintings to his credit, one of them, that of Cora Hind hangs in Toronto's CNE Hall of Fame. His latest interest seems to be photography, specializing in unusual scenic effects, frequently published in newspapers and periodicals.

Then there is Helen Kohuska, one of the Canadian born artists who studied abroad and brought a new spirit to Ukrainian-Canadian artistic creativity. Taras Korol of Winnipeg is a talented and most versatile artist. Besides teaching art in public schools, he is continually sought after to design stage sets and costumes for the various productions of Canadian theatres. Wm. Kurelek of Toronto and Stephen Repa of Winnipeg have both had "one man shows" of their works and are gaining recognition.



Ed. Drahanchuk of Calgary is a full time craftsman in the field of pottery, but his artistry has also found expression in graphic works, sculpture, paintings, batik and jewellery designs. His works have been exhibited in Canada, the USA and abroad which have brought him many prizes and awards. The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission has purchased his works for European and other exhibits as well as for Canadian embassies. His pottery was exhibited at the Commonwealth Arts Festival (1965) in Great Britain. In his own pottery studio at Calgary, he produces original works which are now obtainable through better-class retail outlets across Canada. His pottery is known for its originality as Mr. Drahanchuk does not follow the traditional designs, rather creating his own, producing, as he says, "a line of pottery which is only Drahanchuk".

A number of postwar emigre artists, such as Vadym Dobro-  
lidge (Edmonton), M. Dmytrenko (Toronto), S. Hordynskyj  
(Winnipeg-New York), Roman Kowal (Winnipeg) have left their  
artistic marks on the decor of many church and public build-  
ings in Canada.<sup>71</sup> And the modern graphic designs of Myron  
Lev (Levyckyj) are contributing to the aesthetic appearance  
of book covers and publications in general.

There are two Art Schools, operated privately by artists of Ukrainian origin, one in Winnipeg, the other in Toronto. There may be others, but the two mentioned here have been in operation over a decade with gratifying results. Kateryna





Antonovych a talented artist herself, conducts the Winnipeg school in the halls of the Ukrainian National Home. Her pupils are mostly children and young adults; classes in drawing and painting are conducted on Saturdays and some weekday evenings. Madam Antonovych is accomplishing wonders with the young aspiring artists. This is quite evident at the school's annual exhibits. But more important, due to her untiring efforts, her enthusiasm and eagerness to share her talents and artistic techniques with her pupils, she has inspired a number of them to pursue their studies in institutions of higher learning here and abroad.

One of her former pupils, Daria Zelska-Darevych, a graduate of the University of Manitoba, chose for her thesis - "ancient designs of Ukrainian ceramics." Today, Mrs. Darevych and other former pupils of this school are contributing to the artistic life of the country as teachers, designers, painters, etc. Lida Obroca also continued her studies in art at the University level and is now studying in Rome. Chris. Navroska-Kudryk is now in Toronto, a high calibre graphic artist, painting creatively on the side. These are only a few examples, many others, former pupils of these schools, may be mentioned, e. g. I. Birakowska, M. Onufrijchuk.



Scientists, humanists

There are a number of intellectuals in the fields of science and humanities who are not only contributing to the general stream of Canadian life, but to the world's intellectual progress.

Morrel Paul Bachynski is one of the top scientists in Canada. Born on a farm in Saskatchewan, he worked his way through school and university, receiving his doctorate at McGill in 1955. Today he is director of research for the RCA Victor Company and in this capacity administers the research work of some 85 people. This work and research includes such up-to-date sciences as microwaves, plasma physics, electronics, etc. Another of Dr. Bachynski's jobs is to maintain liaison with the universities and government scientific establishments. As a Canadian, he worries "about the lure of the U. S. and the lack of confidence sometimes found in Canada," therefore, he continues "at RCA we're trying to help reverse this situation. We present excellent opportunities for a lot of people who would like to stay in Canada and who would like to do research..." Dr. Rennie Whitehead, his former chief at RCA, evaluated his co-worker thus: "Bachynski without doubt is first class. I place him amidst top scholars on the North American Continent."

72

Ewen Roslycki, of the Dominion Research Centre, University of Western Ontario, has contributed significantly to research in the field of microbiology. Roma Hawirko is actively engaged in the same field at the University of Manitoba, as professor and researcher. Other scientists of Ukrainian origin in Canada could be named, e.g. V. Darevych, M. W. Wall, etc.





In the field of humanities, J. B. Rudnyckyj is one of the most active Ukrainian Canadian intellectuals. To gain insight into his versatility and achievements, a few facts should be mentioned here. Since his arrival in Canada in 1949, he organized the Department of Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba and has been its head since; as a linguist and humanist he contributed in a number of ways to the development of those branches in Canada. He was one of the founders of the Canadian Linguistic Association of Canada which was formed in 1954. This society has expanded and now is firmly established as a learned body on both, the national and international levels. A special field of scholarship represented and developed by Dr. Rudnyckyj, heretofore neglected in Canada, was the research of **Place and Personal Names**. He was one of the founders of American Name Society and its President in 1958, so far the only Canadian in this post. Since 1952, Dr. Rudnyckyj is an official Canadian delegate to the International Centre of Onomastic Sciences in Louvain, Belgium. As such and with the aid of Canada Council grants, he represented Canadian scholarship at International Congresses in Salamanca Spain (1955), Munich (1958), Florence (1961), Amsterdam (1963). In August, 1965 he was elected vice-chairman of the newly formed International Committee on Outer Space Onomastics in Athens, Greece.

Another field in which prolific national and international activities of J. B. Rudnyckyj found their expression



is bibliography. Due to his efforts in this respect, the Slavic bibliography in Canada was established in 1951, uniting under the title of Slavica Canadiana, the bibliographical efforts of all Slavic groups in Canada. The 1965 issue (15th consecutive annual) of Slavica Canadiana lists all publications of books and pamphlets in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, Byelorussian, published in or relating to Canada. In this sphere he has been contributing to American Bibliography in PMLA since 1959, and also to International Linguistic Bibliography, published under the auspices of UNESCO by Spectrum in Utrecht, Netherlands. The yearly publication of the above mentioned International Centre of Onomastic Sciences in Louvain, ONOMA contains regular yearly bibliographies of Canadian publications in this field as well as information and reports on Canadian activities, especially those of the Canadian Board of Geographical Names in Ottawa. Parallel with his activities are his wide personal contacts with the scholarly world and individual intellectuals in the 73 USA, British Isles, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Japan, etc.

Another outstanding scholar in the field of humanities is C. Bida of the University of Ottawa. Besides his professorship and writings, he frequently participates in International Congresses. G. Luckyj, C. H. Andrusyshen, Yar Slavutych, B. Bociurkiw, Julian Stechishin, P. Macenko, M. I. Mandryka have also contributed significantly in this sphere of scholarship.



67 A number of these early churches are still to be seen in western Canada; two of them in Winnipeg's north-end.

68 R. Zuk designed four churches which were erected in Winnipeg and surrounding area: (1) Holy Family Church, 1001 Grant; (2) Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Joseph, 250 Jefferson Avenue; (3) St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Transcona; (4) Ukrainian Catholic Church, Tyndall, Man. V. Deneka: Ukrainian Catholic Church, Beausejour, Man.

69 Sources: Who's who in Canadian architecture. Toronto, Trans-Canada Press, 1963.

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70 Cf. "Leo Mol." Winnipeg Free Press. Winnipeg. July 12, 1965. Editorial page.

71 Vadym Dobrolige: Mural paintings at the MacDonald Hotel, Edmonton, and other public buildings and churches; M. Dmytrenko: Interior of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, 404 Bathurst Street, Toronto; S. Hordynskyj: Interiors of many churches in Canada and the USA, three Ukrainian Churches in Winnipeg.

72 Kettle, John. "RCA Victor's Bachynski: Research in perspective -or how scientists seek and penetrate the secrets of nature." Montreal, Canada Month, September, 1965. p.10-12. Cf. also Maclean's. Toronto, November 18, 1961.

73 Cf. Rudnycky, J. B. A Bibliography of writings 1933-1963. Winnipeg. 1964. 96 p.





## CHAPTER VII

### Aspirations

The aspirations of the various ethnic groups in Canada, including Ukrainians, may be viewed from two angles:

- (1) Aspirations in the all-Canadian context (including both - internal and external affairs of the country).
- (2) Aspirations expedient to the groups themselves.

In viewing the aspirations of Ukrainians in the all-Canadian context, national unity seems to be of primary importance to them. In this connection, it is interesting to note that their apprehension of both - privileges and duties as citizens of Canada clearly crystallized and manifested itself already in the first days of World War I. It was at a mass meeting of Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg, August 9, 1914, that a manifesto of unreserved loyalty to Canada and the "British flag" was proclaimed.<sup>74</sup> Since that time responsible leaders of the Ukrainian community never wavered in their allegiance to their adopted country, and have guided their people accordingly. This guidance was especially necessary in the early periods of settlement in Canada, as well as in later periods of influx of new immigrants. Even today, Ukrainian Canadians in their submissions to the Canadian Government, to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism or other bodies, while differing in other matters, unanimously emphasize Canadian national unity, not only as their primary concern, but reiterate that



it should be the concern and main goal of every Canadian citizen. In their opinion, national unity should not only be the aspiration of every Canadian, but a prerequisite of Canadian citizenship.

As far as Canada's external position is concerned, the Ukrainians were always highly interested or actively engaged in strengthening Canada's role in the world at large. Active participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the armed forces in World War I, and especially in World War II testifies to this. Participation of intellectuals, artists and professionals in international forums greatly contributed to Canada's prestige abroad.

It should be emphasized, that in both, internal and external affairs of Canada, Ukrainian Canadians have proved to be vigilant defenders of the democratic ways of life as practised in this country, particularly in vanquishing communist movements in all its aspects.

As far as the aspirations within the group itself are concerned, regarding the preservation and development of its ethno-lingual and cultural identity in Canada, several trends and attitudes are observable. Without attempting to delve into all the nuances of these trends, the major ones seem to be the following:

(a) Distinction between two loyalties - political allegiance to Canada only, and linguistic and cultural loyalty to the group itself. The adherents of this trend are anxious





to discharge their duties as loyal Canadian citizens with full participation in all aspects of life of the country, and in addition they aspire to constitutional legalization of Ukrainian cultural endeavours, including aid from Government established agencies to foster them.

(b) Preservation and development of language and culture on par with the major groups in Canada, that is English-speaking and French, based on the principle of an absolute equality of all groups in this country.

(c) Levelling off all linguistic and cultural differences and complete assimilation to dominant groups, in particular to English.

(d) Non-linguistic Ukrainianism - observable mostly among the younger, Canadian-born generation that does not consider language a constituent element of its Ukrainian Canadian identity. They insist to be known and regarded as Ukrainian Canadians, but they speak only a "Canadian" language - English, convinced that all other ethnic and cultural groups should use this language merely as a tool for communication. In other words, to be versed in and to use the English language only, remaining Ukrainian Canadian in all other aspects is their goal.

There are also some other marginal trends:

(e) Ethno-lingual and cultural apathy - the "I don't care" attitude, narrowed exclusively to personal interests.

(f) "Cantonization" of Canada in which the Ukrainian



group would preserve its identity within one "canton," preferably Manitoba, along the Swiss pattern.

(g) Permanent immigrant attitude - considering Canada as only a transitory stage until the time when Ukraine will be free of Soviet domination with intention of returning to the homeland.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

74 This mass meeting of Ukrainian Canadians, held in the Convention Hall of the Industrial Bureau in Winnipeg, was a spontaneous reaction to Bishop N. Budka's pastoral letter, issued on July 27, 1914, in which he called all "Ruthenians" from Austro-Hungary to loyally support the war endeavours of the Hapsburg Empire. Cf. Woycenko, Ol'ha. "Promovcianeyj istorycznyj fakt z pered 50-littia" (On beginnings of the formation of Ukrainian Canadian ideology). Ukrainian Voice, August 12, 1964. Editorial page.

75 This does not include a small fraction of Ukrainian Canadian communists with loyalties to the centre of world communism - Moscow. To be true, their influence on the Ukrainian Canadian group as a whole is almost nil.



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## APPENDIX # 1

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## OCCUPATIONS BY SEX - UKRAINIAN ORIGIN

1961 CB 3.1 - 15 Table 21

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Wholesale trade	781	17	798
Retail Trade	3371	619	3990
Finance, insurance, real estate	309	24	333
Community, business & personal services:			
Education & related services	5	1	6
Health & Welfare services	48	13	61
Motion picture & recreat. serv.	277	31	308
Services to business management	51	10	61
Personal services	1398	501	1899
Miscellaneous services	138	12	150
Public Administration:			
Federal Administration	171	4	175
Provincial Administration	55	4	59
Local Administration	107	3	110
All other Industries	82	9	91
Totals	6793	1248	8041

## PROFESSIONAL &amp; TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS:

Professional Engineers,	(867)	(3)	(870)
Civil engineers	263	-	263
Mechanical engineers	161	-	161
Industrial "	67	-	67
Electrical "	176	1	177
Mining "	54	-	54
Chemical "	74	-	74
Professional "	72	2	74
Physical Scientists	(249)	(16)	(265)
Chemists	144	14	158
Geologists	57	2	59
Physisists	9	-	9
Physical Scientists	39	-	39
Biologists & Agricultural Professions	(116)	(6)	(122)
Biological Scientists	24	5	29
Veterinarians	21	-	21
Agricultural professionals	71	1	72
Teachers	(2076)	(2154)	(4230)
Professors & College Principles	73	9	82
School teachers	1936	2089	4025
Teachers & Instructors	67	56	123

continued.....





Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Health Professionals:	(925)	(1774)	(2699)
Physicians & Surgeons	321	28	349
Dentists	139	8	147
Nurses-graduates	53	935	988
Nurses-in-training	11	426	437
Physical & occupational therapy	19	23	42
Optometrists	23	-	23
Osteopath & Chiropractors	24	-	24
Pharmacists	193	59	252
Medical & Dental Technicians	139	291	430
Other Health Professionals	3	4	7
Law Professionals:	(202)	(6)	(208)
Judges & magistrates	12	-	12
Lawyers & notaries	190	6	196
Religion Professionals:	(429)	(67)	(496)
Clergymen & priests	362	1	363
Brothers	42	38	80
Religious Workers	25	28	53
Artists, writers & musicians	(348)	(136)	(484)
Artists, commercial	93	22	115
Artists (except com.) art teachers	18	4	22
Authors, editors, journalists	120	45	165
Musicians & music teachers	117	65	182
Other Professionals:	(2716)	(484)	(3200)
Architects	52	-	52
Draftsmen	600	32	632
Surveyors	280	-	280
Acturaries & statisticians	34	5	39
Economists	24	6	30
Computer programmes	11	-	11
Accountants & Auditors	343	20	363
Dietitioans	1	40	41
Social Welfare Workers	93	83	176
Librarians	20	30	50
Interior Decorators & Window Dr.	24	32	56
Photographers	69	11	80
Science & Engineering Tech.	858	94	952
Professional Occupations	<u>307</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>438</u>
Total	7928	4646	12,574



Sample list of publications of the Ukrainian  
Free Academy of Sciences, Winnipeg, Man.

## SLAVISTICA

A series relating to Slavic languages, literatures, cultures,  
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- No. 2. V. Chaplenko: *Ukrainisms in the language of M. Hohol (N. Gogol)* (in Ukrainian, with a French resume), Augsburg, 1948.
- No. 3. Ivan Sydoruk: *The problem of the Ukrainian White-Ruthenian Lingual Boundary* (in Ukrainian, with English and German resumes, 2 maps), Augsburg, 1948.
- No. 4. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj: *Slavic and Baltic Universities in Exile* (in English), Winnipeg, 1949.
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- B) Libraries of secular organizations, institutions, clubs etc.
- C) Private book collections.

The author lists and characterizes the following libraries:

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1. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Archbishops' Library, 235 Scotia St., Winnipeg, Man.
2. Basilian Fathers' Library, Mundare, Alberta.
3. Redemptorist Fathers' Library, Yorkton, Sask.
4. Library of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada, 7 St. John's Ave., Winnipeg, Man.
5. P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute Library, Victoria & Main, Saskatoon, Sask.
6. St. John's Ukrainian Institute Library, 11032 — 82th Edmonton, Alta.
7. St. Andrew's College Library, 259 Church Ave., Winnipeg, Man.
8. St. Nicholas Monastery Library, Grimsby, Ont., a.o.

b) The major *secular libraries* are:

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- c) Private collections include the *libraries* of the Ukrainian scholars, clergy, professionalists, intelligentsia, farmers and workers in Canada. Several persons are named whose collections are significant. (to be)

In conclusion, the author states that his information is tentative and incomplete. In many cases it can be corrected, supplemented, or augmented as far as the details of each collection are concerned. With his first review of Ukrainian Canadian libraries he wants to encourage the study of the resources of the Ukrainian handwritten and printed word in Canada as well as in the United States of America.

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